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## Near East/South Asia Report

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18 May 1984

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REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION REPORTED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 53, 14 Apr 84 p 25

[Article by Rashid Khashanah: "The Administrative Redistribution of the Governorates Puts the 'Government of Experts' to the Test"]

[Text] If Dr Abdelhamid Brahimi became prime minister of Algeria in order to lead the "cabinet of experts," as observers have called it, and open the thorny economic files, then one of the big projects inherited by his government from that of Mohamed Abdelghani is the reorganization of the administrative distribution of the governorates and municipalities. This is an economic project with important political implications, because it puts the new government to the test. The government will assume responsibility for carrying out and implementing it as part of the reform plan President Chadli Benjedid has been leading for 5 years. The last congress of the Liberation Front party declared the support of the cadres for the plan.

The project aims to raise the number of governorates from 31 to 48, and the number of communes from 704 to 1419. An informed source has told AL-TADAMUN that the goal of this change is to "solidify the administration of the country, guide local development, and distribute the population in a fair and balanced manner." In order to explain the reformist goal of the project, he added: "In Algeria, we suffer from differences between the settled areas. Therefore, we hope that the new administrative division will achieve a reorganization of the settled areas and limit the existing differences between local groups. It is well known that such an organization--if it is realized--leads in turn to the creation of a balance among the elements of economic production, since it facilitates their rapid and just distribution between the various administrative centers and curbs the currently existing imbalances between the regions with regard to economic resources."

The new administrative reorganization is the second of its kind in the history of independent Algeria, since it was preceded by the first redistribution of administrative regions in 1974. In 1962, the young Algerian republic inherited from the French colonial administration an imbalanced structure containing 15 governorates, 90 dairas, and 500 communes. An initial attempt at reform was made in 1963, when Algeria's population was no more than 8 million, including a large number of Frenchmen.

However, the lack of a true population census and the inability of the young state to conduct the necessary scientific studies limited the effectiveness of this reform.

About 12 years after independence, the government of President Boumediene approved in 1974 a plan for the administrative reorganization of the governorates and communes. In accordance with it, 31 governorates, 170 dairas, and 704 communes were established. However, the distribution of some of these administrative units was not consistent with the natural distribution of economic resources. Therefore, the primary yardstick in the new administrative system will be the financial capacity of the new groups that will be established.

This new project focuses on one essential idea: decentralization. The population is now more than 20 million, and the energies and economic resources of many regions are enormous. These two facts have made it necessary to follow the path of decentralization, which gives local groups broad authority in various areas. The minister of the interior, M'hamed al-Hajj Yala, pointed out in one of his addresses before the National People's Assembly (the parliament) that the governorates had spent 380 billion Algerian dinars (about \$76 billion) in the form of payment allocations in numerous fields. This included 63 billion dinars for local development projects, or .2 percent of the state budget. These groups oversee 1400 institutions that employ about 200,000 workers, in addition to 40,000 administrative employees.

A highly placed government source revealed to AL-TADAMUN that the centerpiece of the new administrative organization project is the development of the areas left behind by the train of progress, especially the south, where the population density is very low. The source said: "The government departments, especially the planning offices, have drawn up a plan for transferring about 1.3 million inhabitants in the next few years to the less developed regions, or to those areas that suffer from a lack of growth. These people will be granted large privileges and facilitations in order to encourage them to settle in the regions to which they will be moved."

It is interesting to note that this administrative system has begun to take on clear political dimensions day after day. Many politicians and experts expect that this project will strengthen economic and political decentralization. Some of them emphasize that it is necessary to pay attention to the development of the governorates of the south for two main reasons. The first is that "the keys of the economy are located in the south in particular, both as long as the Algerian economy depends essentially on oil and after it enters the post-oil age." The second reason is that "development efforts have been concentrated in the north. This has made the regions of the south into 'deprived areas'." This situation, according to a deputy in parliament, "has made it necessary to establish new governorates in the south and create advanced social and economic institutions."

Moreover, the clearly political character of the new administrative organization project was confirmed by the fact that when it was submitted to the National People's Assembly last autumn, it aroused the broadest discussions the assembly has known, with the speaker's office registering 64 addresses, including 8 presented in writing. These are record figures, as a member of the assembly's office confirmed. It has been noted that a female deputy demanded that 2 years be set aside for preparations to be made for the initiation of the implementation of the new divisions, so as to avoid a repetition of the errors and shortcomings that appeared after the application of the administrative division set up in 1974. The legal committee, which prepared the preparatory report on the proposed new law, emphasized that "it is not right to consider the new administrative organization as if it were merely a process of reforming the geographical borders of the governorates. In a deeper sense, its purpose is to embody economic and social policy and deepen the authority of the people's assemblies and local assemblies. On the political level, it is a preferred tool for deepening democracy, and on the economic level it forms the essential basis for development and the way to achieve a true balance among the regions."

Observers in the Algerian capital think that the successful implementation of the administrative distribution plan will place an important card in the hands of the Brahimi government. This card will help it to bring success to the plan for reforming the structure of the economy. Will the prime minister of the new government win this bet, or will the heavy legacy of bureaucracy make the liquidation of the inheritance of the past a difficult matter?

12224

CSO: 4504/251

WAFD PARTY FIGURE PROTESTS MISINTERPRETATION ON ISLAMIC LAW

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2581, 11 Apr 84 p 11

[Article by Dr Wahid Ra'fat: "No, Your Eminence the Sheikh: I Was Not Opposed to the Application of Islamic Law and Not Everything I Say Is the View of the Wafd"]

[Text] I read in the 4 April issue of your distinguished magazine a comment by His Eminence Shaykh 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr concerning a conversation of mine which was previously published in the same magazine, on 21 March. His attention was drawn in particular to the statement made in the interview on the secular state and the application of Islamic law, and the relationship between that and existing laws. His eminence deplored what had become fixed in his mind, and rejected my interpretation of some provisions of the Koran and its categoric, meaningful verses, stipulating that the ruling on this rejection was well known and clear: "It is not to be accepted that any Moslem, whatever his status might be and whatever his ability might be, come and rule whether the categoric stipulations of God are suited to the age or not, and make amendments for God in his knowledge, wisdom and mercy." He continued to manifest his disapproval by wondering "What Moslem can endure such a statement, which strikes at his religion and faith!"

His eminence the sheikh shifted from attacking an individual to attacking the Wafd Party, and said, with great elegance, "Has the Wafd Party, which is asking for a relationship with the Moslem people of Egypt, become so devoid of faith in God and the Koran that it should endure this sort of talk and be quiet about it up to now?" He wondered, "Where are the Moslem Wafdist, and where are the Brothers who have joined it and have been content to work and present themselves to the people under its banner, while the vice chairman of the party is talking in its name and saying this sort of thing!" Unless the person in the position of prime responsibility for the party should hasten to rectify the situation!

Thus, after his eminence the sheikh had established himself as an Islamic public prosecutor, viewing my statements as sinful, determining my responsibility for them and the responsibility of the party for its silence over this sin, and demanding that the chairman of the party hasten to correct this situation, we see him moving on to blame the government, because it has not

submitted laws bearing on the application of Islamic law to the People's Assembly, although they are now ready, or most of them are."

His bill of indictment contains a question directed "to the people who have joined the Wafd Party, who have spoken in its name in gatherings and newspapers, and who have blamed the government for its reluctance to submit laws bearing on the application of Islamic law" (meaning the Moslem Brothers), so that he can now learn where they stand "among those who disapprove of some of God's absolute Koranic verses." Does he mean the vice chairman of the party? Had his eminence the sheikh acquired a full grasp of secular laws, of the Penal Code for instance, he would have realized from the first moment what incitement to harrassment, or worse, these unrestrained sentences contain!

Was his eminence's intent fervid concern for the religion?

He did not content himself with these phrases and questions. Rather, we see him searching for proof of his charges in recollections which bring us back to the sixties and seventies when we were in Kuwait and Abu Dhabi together.

Why not, since, as I have mentioned, he has made himself an Islamic public prosecutor in the manner of the ayatollahs in Iran. Therefore it is necessary to prove previous insistence, so that the punishment will be more intense and deterrent!

His eminence pointed out that when he visited me in Abu Dhabi, where I had been assigned to prepare a draft constitution for the state of the Arab Emirates in the Gulf, a discussion was held between us which addressed itself to Islamic legislation. I had a position on Islamic law and its application "which severely contradicted the absolute provisions of the Koran" and condemned them for being inappropriate and unsuited to the times, such as the Islamic penalty for theft, for instance, and he was saddened and disturbed by this position. Therefore, he was not amazed when he saw me repeating the same thing in my conversation with AKHIR SA'AH or the magazine AL-MUSAWWAR.

That is the sum total of His Eminence Shaykh al-Nimr's commentary.

I was shocked by the implicit questioning of my belief which it contained!

However, two things alleviated this shock:

First, his eminence has personally faced questioning of this sort from some of his peers because of his well known position on the most recent personal status law, since they considered his position on the draft of this law and his heated defense of it to be a violation of the principles of Islamic law and the provisions of the holy Koran.

The second thing is that some of us have started to renounce others over ordinary matters in this era of ours, due to differences over cases of Islamic law!

It saddens me that his eminence the sheikh has not made a distinction between my position on the principles of Islamic law and my position on Islamic penalties, such as the penalty for theft, which he singled out for comment. It is ridiculous that an intelligent man could imagine that the application of Islamic law is just the application of penalties! One should bear in mind that I never objected, in Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, or our own nation, Egypt, to having Islamic law a basic source of legislation, indeed the basic source of legislation in an Islamic country! The draft of the constitution I submitted to the government of the state of the Arab Emirates in the Gulf, when the state chose me as reporter to the founding committee assigned to prepare a draft permanent constitution to take the place of the temporary constitution of that Islamic country, in 1975, will confirm this.

Article Four of the draft of that permanent constitution frankly stipulates that "Islam is the religion of the country, that Islamic law is the main source of legislation in it, and that the Arabic language is its official language."

The memorandum which I prepared in order to explain this article (which has been published and of which there are copies in the files of the abovementioned founding committee) stated "One of the provisions which the amendment deals with is the stipulation in Article Four of the draft permanent constitution, that Islamic law is the main source of legislation, in place of the expression 'Islamic law is a main source of legislation' as stated in Article Seven of the temporary constitution." This latter statement puts Islamic law on an equal footing with other sources of legislation, while the formulation on which consensus was reached and the draft permanent constitution make a distinction between Islamic law, or in other words Islamic jurisprudence, and others, by putting it in the central position among the various sources from which the federal state (the state of the Arab Emirates) can derive its legislation, which is the contrary of what would have been the case had it said "Islamic law is the only source of legislation," as some people recommended. It was considered that that should not be adopted, in defense against the suspicion of fanaticism or extremism which conflicts with our tolerant Islamic law, which is open to all new things as long as they do not conflict with its principles and its valid provisions.

That is my position on the application of Islamic law, as it was and as it is now, contrary to what His Eminence Shaykh al-Nimr imagines. I was not opposed to the application of the principles of Islamic law as a major source of legislation or as the main source of legislation in any Islamic country. I declared that in 1975 in Abu Dhabi, before it was clearly stipulated in our Egyptian constitution when it was amended in 1980!

As regards the issue of Islamic penalties and the penalty for theft, specifically, my statement in my conversation which was published in the magazine AKHIR SA'AH, or AL-MUSAWWAR of last March, "Is it logical, now that 1,400 years have gone by, to cut off the hand of a thief?" must not be isolated from the statements which directly preceded it, in which I pointed out that when almighty glorious God prohibited alcohol he did not surprise the Moslems with this prohibition but rather adopted the law of gradualism, accompanied by worship, showing them first of all what benefits and harmful



things alcohol entailed, then warning them against getting close to it before prayer ("do not draw close to prayer while you are drunk"), then prohibiting them from it because it is "filth from the work of the devil," and Moslems must avoid it so that they may perhaps prosper. If his eminence the sheikh had read my entire conversation thoroughly, he would have realized that the thrust of it was that we should not surprise people with the application of Islamic penalties and the penalty for theft in particular now that it has been neglected for close to 14 centuries!

I agree with his eminence that the talk about other penalties, such as the penalty for adultery, should be abandoned because the application of this penalty, according to his statement, is very very difficult, and talk about it will remain purely academic because it is truly impossible to prove this crime.

I would like here to mention one of Shaykh al-Nimr's earlier positions regarding the same subject of Islamic penalties, when I saw him on television a few years ago disparaging the opinions of the people who considered that the application of Islamic penalties, and the severing of the hand of the thief in particular, was the way to reform society, while such reform would take place, even in the view of our distinguished sheikh, only by implanting Islamic values and teachings in people's spirits, and establishing a gracious environment based on justice and cooperation in piety, devotion and fear of God!

As regards the position of the New Wafd Party, not all my statements necessarily express its views and opinions; otherwise, that would mean the total and unlimited melting of my person into the legal personality which is the personality of the party!

On the other hand, the Wafd Party had previously expressed its ideas on Islamic law, and the application of it, in the statement which it issued and published in the papers on 11 March 1984, prior to my conversation which is the subject of the comment, which was published after that, on the 21st of the month. It is clear from this statement, which does not need further repetition, that the Wafd Party, as a responsible mass party of the people in an Islamic country, respects all divine religions, gives Islamic law the esteem it deserves, raises the Islamic religion to its lofty position and does not push it into the election market or into sterile dialogue, but from the beginning has endorsed what the country's constitution records, to the effect that the principles of Islamic law are the main source of legislation in Egypt, believing that this tolerant law will guarantee non-Moslems their rights and will preserve their sacred possessions.

Let his eminence leave the New Wafd Party as it is, and not try to sow discord between it and the people, or between it and some of their leaders! In whose interests is that?

Finally, I am happy to record that while I differ with his eminence over some issues, and from what I stated above it is evident that this dispute has been confined to the narrowest scope, which is the immediate application of Islamic penalties and the punishment for theft specifically, I agree with



him over other points, such as his statement "His defense of the application of Islamic penalties does not mean that he wants a government to be ruled by men of religion." I endorse his saying that, though that did not appear in God's book or in the sayings and doings of his prophet. God guide us all toward the path.

11887

CSO: 4504/247

HEAD OF AL-UMMAH PARTY DETAILS GOALS, VIEWS ON RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2581, 11 Apr 84 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Ahmad al-Sabahi, chairman of al-Ummah Party, by Usamah 'Aj-jaj: "The Brothers' Alliance with the Wafd Has Harmed Their History and Their Principles"]

[Text] The al-Ummah Party is housed in a furnished apartment. It has been immersed in its own accumulated problems and has not yet decided on entering the elections. It sets out conditions which was impossible to carry out, such as making the 8 percent ratio 2 percent. It has offered an alliance with all parties except the Grouping Party, and none of them has answered it yet.

Ahmad al-Sabahi, chairman of the al-Ummah Party, says, "The elections over all the districts will require 2 million pounds. I do not have a single piaster of that. They will require 1,000 political leaders, and I have only 5,000 members. They will require headquarters, and our only headquarters are a furnished apartment renting for 250 pounds which we will be evicted from in a month because there is no rent money."

He also says, "The Brothers abrogated their alliance with me and preferred the Wafd. The Wafd abandoned me and chose the Brothers over the al-Ummah Party. In any case, the Wafd and the Brothers will be the losers, because the Egyptian people, with their genuine nature and awareness, are able to find out the parties to this election game and learn about their base objectives, which are against the Brothers' beliefs and the mottos of the Wafd Party."

Further details and problems remain, and we can find them in the conversation which Ahmad al-Sabahi, the chairman of the al-Ummah Party, had with AKHIR SA'AH.

[Question] Although all the parties have declared that they are entering the election campaign, the al-Ummah Party is unique in that it is the only one which has not declared that it is. What is the reason? What preparations are being made?

Ahmad al-Sabahi, chairman of the al-Ummah Party, said:

"We must realize that the election campaign will require about 2 million pounds in expenditures, because to get the 8 percent ratio we will have to enter each district; these are 48 in number and have 20 candidates each, half of whom are reserve candidates. That is, we will need 960 candidates, in addition to 70 young candidates, all of whom must have educational background, and weight with the people.

"I can assert that no party has this many leaders. Even the National Party resorted to nominating a large number of its Consultative Assembly members." He said,

"Each party will even need 48,000 delegates on election day. If it spends 10 pounds for each delegate's expenses during that day, the amount will come to about half a million pounds. We all know the need for each party to have delegates in all districts. It is well known that 2,000 pounds have to be paid for each list, which means that each party will pay 96,000 pounds just as insurance." He went on:

"This means that it takes 2 million pounds and 15,000 leaders to enter the elections. As far as the al-Ummah Party goes, it faces a group of problems which prevent it from entering the elections; for instance, while the National Party has more than 1,000 mansions which it can use as its headquarters and some of them, such as one of the headquarters which is located in al-Sayyidah Zaynab, are closed, the al-Ummah does not even have one central headquarter available to it in Cairo, except for a furnished apartment!"

#### The Party Headquarters: A Furnished Apartment

I asked him, "How can the party headquarters be a furnished apartment? What obstacles are there to finding central headquarters for the party?"

Ahmad al-Sabahi, the chairman of the al-Ummah Party, reacted as if I had hit one of his touchy nerves, and said:

"We are the first party in the world to occupy a furnished apartment. If the government fails to find a party an apartment, that means that the government is unable to solve any of the masses' problems. On 26 October of last year the prime minister, Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, gave the governor of Cairo permission to allocate a suitable apartment as headquarters for the al-Ummah Party in a central location but the governor has not yet responded to the permission. We do not know why. I have no recourse except to turn to President Mubarak; we sent him a memorandum at the end of last March explaining to him our tragic situation, that our main headquarters in Cairo consisted of a modest apartment of three furnished rooms for which we pay 250 pounds a month, and the period of the lease will end at the end of the month of June, after which the party will be subject to eviction and damages."

[Question] But doesn't the party receive support from the government, like all the other opposition parties?

Ahmad al-Sabahi shouted, "Absolutely not! The members of the National Party pay dues. All the party's receipts are from the government. As for the opposition parties, the Labor Party, for example, has obtained 7,000 pounds a month, on top of a group of headquarters and other sums, over a period of 7 years. The same thing with the Liberal Party. We, however, have not gotten anything. I asked Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim to pay out periodic subsidies to the al-Ummah Party, same as are paid out to the others, but he refused, on grounds that the new parties are not to receive any subsidies. That means that the amounts that are paid out are for the parties that were the offspring of the Socialist Union, and we are not one of them."

#### My Conditions for Entering the Elections

[Question] Let us go back once again to participation in the elections. We have heard that you have conditions for entering them. Is this an attempt to avoid a crushing defeat for the party?

[Answer] To the contrary, I am prepared to enter the elections if my conditions, which I set out in the early part of March, are realized. These are that the stipulation that every party obtain 8 percent of the total valid votes throughout the republic be discarded and reduced to just 2 percent, or the stipulation that the 8 percent be just in the context of a governorate, since in order to enter the elections and get 8 percent of the total vote it is necessary to enter each of the 48 districts, which is hard for every party, especially the al-Ummah Party, which was established only 8 months ago.

[Question] But how can the party enter the elections? As you said, every party which enters all the districts will need 1,030 candidates and you have no more than 5,000 members in your party.

[Answer] We can enter the elections with the existing party members. I have competent people who are able to enter the election campaign and win. While the Wafd Party boasts of the public figures who have joined it, my members believe in an important idea which makes them more important than public figures, especially since they are striving after temporal things.

[Question] In what district will Ahmad al-Sabahi run as a candidate?

[Answer] Ahmad al-Sabahi is greater than the al-Ummah Party and the People's Assembly. I am a man who is a proponent of an idea. I hold it to be more lofty than the People's Assembly and other organizations, and I will lead the election campaign from outside. I can direct the party members in the People's Assembly. He said,

"I can assert that we will not act in an excessive manner in this election campaign, since it is a great school in which the members will learn how to engage in mass and democratic action, attract the masses and win them over to the party's views and program."

#### The Alliance between the Brothers and the Wafd

[Question] Let us go back to a controversial issue in the course of the party, in spite of its short life, which revolves about the attempt at an

alliance with the Moslem Brothers, the failure of this alliance, and their merger with the Wafd.

It seemed that with this question we had raised an extremely sensitive point as far as Ahmad al-Sabahi, the chairman of the al-Ummah Party, went. He stated, visibly excited,

"My consultations with the Moslem Brothers started after we got the court ruling to declare the party. I went to 'Umar al-Talmasani and proposed to him that he be an al-Ummah Party chairman. I told him, 'The Brothers have not had a legitimate channel for pursuing their activity for 50 years, up to now. I am offering you this legitimate, official, legal party as a gift, on behalf of almighty glorious God, so that you can engage in your political activity in order to achieve the goal of applying Islamic law, which we are all calling for, by means of it. If you agree, may your reward come from God. If you refuse, may your punishment come from God and may you be held to account for it. You are responsible for that, especially since the differences between us are minor.' They call for the application of Islamic law as a belief, and we call for it as a state political, social and economic system. The difference is that the demand to apply Islamic law as a belief includes a party with a religious belief, which the law forbids, while the demand for it as a political system can be met by a political party."

[Question] What was 'Umar al-Talmasani's reply, after you offered him the party chairmanship?

Ahmad al-Sabahi said,

"He asked me for time to think. The time went on beyond the agreed period and finally he begged off, saying 'My health and my old age will not allow me to act as a party chairman.' I left after it was agreed that a group of younger leaders, who were better able to act, would join. I actually met with Muhammad al-Musmari, Shams-al-Din al-Shinawi, 'Abdallah Salim and some lawyers. They asked to join the party on the basis of our agreement with 'Umar al-Talmasani. I welcomed them and they asked for some leadership positions; I also willingly acceded to that. They then then proceeded to ask for all the leadership positions except for the position of chairman, which they left to me. I again acceded to that but they did not carry out what they had undertaken to do and the contacts ended. After that I heard that they had joined the Wafd Party."

Our Dispute with the Brothers

[Question] However, we have not yet learned what the reason for your dispute with them is, and why they abandoned you for the Wafd Party.

Ahmad al-Sabahi, the chairman of the al-Ummah Party, said,

"You will be amazed to learn that the dispute revolved about their desire that I issue a decree appointing them to leadership positions without their filling out party membership forms or even paying the stipulated dues, although I need every millieme in order to build up the party, increase its

revenues and issue a paper. How can I issue decrees appointing leaders before they actually join the party?"

[Question] What, however, is your opinion on the Moslem Brothers' joining the Wafd Party?

The pitch of Ahmad al-Sabahi's voice rose again as he said,

"It is well known that the Wafd Party dues of the Brothers, as a group and as individuals, were paid after each member filled out a membership form, paid the dues and received a membership number. These are the normal measures every member goes through to join the party. By acting in this manner they have abandoned their ideas, have renounced their principles, have ruined their past, present and future, and have damaged the history of the Moslem Brothers and the awe in which they are held."

Ahmad al-Sabahi said, "I ask why 'Umar al-Talmasani and his group joined the Wafd. Was it to stand in line with people asking to run as candidates in the Wafd's lists? Was it for the sake of elections, which he considers a worldly matter? Will I find an answer to these questions with the Moslem Brothers? My party is snow-white without the confusion of alliances."

#### Coordination with the Brothers

[Question] However, while you attacked the Moslem Brothers for joining the Wafd, you tried more than once to open up a dialogue with them and coordinate with the Wafd Party.

Ahmad al-Sabahi, the chairman of the al-Ummah Party, said,

"There is a difference between joining and coordinating. I declare that if we enter the elections that will be through the al-Ummah Party list, not other lists. The dialogue we are talking about was with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din a month and a half ago, in the presence of 'Ilwi Hafiz. The conversation was about the elections and the possibility of coordinating with them. They asked for time to think but have not replied yet. I offered similar coordination to the government party."

[Question] How and when did this coordination take place?

Ahmad al-Sabahi smiled as he said, "Please excuse me from answering this question. I am keeping the answer to myself, at least at the present time."

#### The Wafd and the Al-Ummah Party

[Question] Let us go back to the Wafd and the form of the coordination with it.

Ahmad al-Sabahi said,

"I explained the danger of the idea that a single list involved to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, on grounds that it was not legal, because if Ibrahim Shukri,

the chairman of the Labor Party, and Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, the chairman of the Grouping Party, as well as the leaders of the Liberal and al-Ummah Parties, were on one list, under the name of the Wafd Party, for example, that would make it easy for the government to contest the list, on grounds that it was unreal, and thus it would be prevented from entering the election campaign. The alternative was to divide up the districts among opposition parties in a manner that was in keeping with each party's ability, provided that publicity coordination take place among all the opposition parties regarding the government party candidates and list. However, as usual, they asked for time to think and have not yet answered."

[Question] What, however, is the most recent news on the trip by the al-Ummah Party members and the uplifting of Korans to stop the Gulf War?

He smiled and said,

"We went over to the Iraqi and Iranian embassies. We presented them with memorandums urging them to stop the war between the two countries, in order to give new energy to Moslems and to start negotiations on a cessation of hostilities and peace before an Islamic court or body which would meet in the noble al-Azhar or the sacred house of God. We presented a memorandum deploring the use of chemical weapons and demanded agreement that a delegation from the al-Ummah Party travel to meet Imam Khomeyni and the Iraqi president, Saddam Husayn. In fact, we were promised that the official bodies would be informed of this and we would be informed of the answer, but so far we have not been notified about anything. As regards uplifting Korans and standing in a solid line as a human wall between the two armies on the battle lines, uplifting the holy Koran and demanding that the war be stopped, Iraq agreed that the members could take the trip but stipulated that Iran agree. Iran presented reservations to this, which indicated to us that they were against the idea."

[Question] Do you still insist on your conditions, in order to enter the elections?

Al-Sabahi smiled and said,

"We will enter the elections if agreement is given to a group of our conditions, which I have spoken about, bearing on the 8 percent ratio or coordination between us and an opposition party, in particular the Wafd."

[Question] What if that is the Grouping Party?

[Answer] Cooperation with all parties except the Grouping!

[Question] But why?

The chairman of the al-Ummah Party said,

"Please excuse me from answering!"

## PROBLEM OF COPING WITH FRAUD IN FOREIGN JOB MARKET REVIEWED

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3105, 13 Apr 84 pp 36, 37, 64, 65

[Article by Ahmad Hamdi: "How Can We Protect Egyptian Emigrant Labor from the Snares of Fraud and Deceit?"]

[Text] Widespread fraud is being carried out almost every day. Some devious persons are carrying it out in the name of travel agencies. The victims are always ordinary citizens who have been lured into working abroad by big wages. The owner of a travel agency recently took 300,000 pounds from 300 citizens, including workers, university students and craftsmen, as an illegal commission for sending them to work in Arab countries. He gave them falsified contracts stamped with counterfeit seals and fraudulent travel passports on them. What makes the situation serious is that it is repeated on a daily basis, in spite of the issuance of Law 119, which the various bodies consider can put a limit to the activities of deceit and fraud that our workers seeking job opportunities abroad face. Why has this law failed to deter these deceitful persons? Why have these offices managed to continue the fraudulent activities under its aegis? Indeed, why did the scope of this crime expand after the law was issued, where new elements have entered into it such as agents, middlemen, and employees on contract who spread out before the doors of embassies, consulates, furnished apartments and hotels to hunt for victims among people who are looking for job opportunities abroad? This report will reveal many aspects of this serious issue, and will try to find an effective solution to it.

The story of the Egyptian workers whom an exporter of Egyptian manpower abandoned at the edge of the desert at Suez, leaving them to imagine that they had reached the Libyan border, which for years continued to be a joke in wide circulation, was only one concrete example of a new phenomenon of organized crime.

With the opening of the Arab labor market to armies of Egyptian workers some years ago, travel and tourist agencies began to expand the scope of their activity to include the role of intermediary between Arab employers and Egyptian labor. Because there was no independent law which could regulate this relatively new activity, and because of the "takeoff" of greedy parasites in past years, in various areas of investment, this activity evolved



into a new form of organized crime! The victims always are Egyptian workers seeking better job opportunities and a better life, although employers themselves sometimes fall victim to these frauds!

On 26 July 1982, the government tried to protect Egyptian labor by issuing Law 119 which set out new rules to regulate the processes of linking Egyptian workers up with work abroad. The law said that anyone seeking to engage in such activity had to have a special permit drawn up by the Ministry of Manpower and before that had to meet a number of conditions, most important of which was the absence of any previous criminal activity in his records or the like. However, reality once again proved that Law 119's restrictions on symbols of the crimes of forgery, deceit and fraud in the area of sending Egyptian workers abroad was not enough and that its loopholes were enough to make the viciousness of this criminal activity more violent and intense!

#### An Expanding Net

Law 119 was issued in July 1982, and the following October its executive bill was issued, explaining all the sections and procedures in it. However, the following year, 1983, experienced substantial further instances of the "enticement" -- if it is permissible to use the expression -- of Egyptian workers seeking to travel abroad. Let us open together the files of public security in Cairo, Alexandria and Bani Suwayf for various examples, not as a complete summation, of this criminal activity.

Muhammad Muhammad al-Fayyumi, alias Khayshah, owns the al-Fayyumi Travel Agency in al-Duqqi. General security sources stated that he engages in extensive fraud and deceit against workers who want to travel abroad. An inspection of his agency, after a police search of it, led to the following discovery:

"A quantity" of blank passports prepared for anyone wishing to buy them.

A quantity of counterfeit labor contracts reportedly issued by organizations belonging to Arab countries, stamped with the seals of these organizations and prepared for circulation. The contracts were also blank, prepared for an endless line of victims.

A quantity of blank applications for visas to enter the state of Qatar; these are papers which it is forbidden to circulate outside the walls of embassies and consulates.

Khayshah, when confronted with the seized articles, confessed that he had intended to circulate them among people who wanted to travel to work in Arab countries in exchange for money!

We can also cite a second example from general security files although it exceeds the first in the gravity of its activity:

An inspection of the office of 'Abd-al-Raziq al-Dawi, 44, the owner of the Arab Trade and Contracting Company, revealed:

A large amount of permits to enter to work in the state of Kuwait. The amazing thing is that some of these permits were genuine and others of course forged.

A group of permits to enter the state of the United Arab Emirates.

A group of labor permits whose issuance was attributed to the IHI company, a special stamp of the Kuwaiti Marine Transport Company, another stamp belonging to the employee affairs section of the Oil Installations Company, and other stamps for Kuwaiti companies. Some of these stamps were genuine.

One hundred five blank Egyptian passports.

The general security files state that al-Dawi took 118,500 pounds from 112 persons to send them to Kuwait, using the counterfeit contracts and his stamps, and that he had taken an additional 100,000 pounds from 120 persons to send them to Saudi Arabia, 2,750 pounds from an engineer working in the General Rural Electrification Authority to send him to Saudi Arabia, 8,000 pounds from a number of university graduates to send them to Saudi Arabia as well, and 1,800 pounds from another engineer to send him to Saudi Arabia! Thus, the total sums which the security authorities learned that al-Dawi had obtained from various citizens came to 300,000 pounds!

A third example is somewhat different, since other "parties" were involved in the game:

Muhammad Sa'id Sayyid Ahmad, 43, and his wife, owner of the Commercial Engineering Company for Decor and Electric Equipment, defrauded people wanting to travel abroad, seeking the aid of the Jordanian Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khidr, 32, temporarily residing in the Hilton Hotel. The owner of the Egyptian agency and his wife would take 1,000 pounds, then 10 pounds as the fee for meeting the Jordanian, who played the part of the Arab employer, from everyone who wanted to travel! The Egyptian swindler published an announcement in the daily papers declaring his need for craftsmen and directing them to meet the Jordanian in the Hilton!

In addition, Muhammad Ahmad Idris, 42, and al-Humali Muhammad Qarin, Libyans, came to Egypt in 1983 to contact travel agencies in order to conclude illusory work contracts for people who wanted to travel to Libya. They did in fact get in touch with Rajab Faraj Husayn, the owner of an import-export agency at the Pyramids, and Yusuf Muhammad Bayyumi, the owner of the Glory of Egypt Tourist Group, using seals the two Libyans were carrying, which belonged to the Libyan Secretariat of Education, to get 550,000 pounds from a number of people with higher and intermediate qualifications.

The story of reliance on help from Arabs in this game is repeated in the story of the two unemployed persons who sought the aid of a North Yemeni, bearer of a Saudi passport, who rented a furnished apartment to obtain 1,200 pounds from everyone with intermediate credentials who wanted to go work in Yemen, and the story of the owner of a travel [agency] who sought the aid of a Libyan and specialized in defrauding doctors exclusively to give them work in Libya!

## An Organized Network

However, the most dangerous of the examples and cases was the seizure of passports which were not forged but had been left blank. This phenomenon was repeated in most cases recorded in 1983. That is almost the same as the seizure of papers belonging to Arab embassies and consulates which it is forbidden to circulate outside the walls of the consulate or embassy. This leads us to the primary features of an organized network of one form or another, which brings passports from their places of origin, visa documents from consulates [and] company seals from one Arab country or another.

In addition, because of the earnings from this easy game, the situation is no longer confined to travel agencies, but indeed goes beyond them to contracting and electric equipment offices, and even to people who do not have the least connection with any of these areas. There is, for example, a worker in a printing press, 53 years of age, living in the workers' city in Imbaba, who has become specialized in circulating forged contracts on behalf of travel agencies and middlemen. Thus the enticements and easy gain attract moths which fall from every direction!

The amazing thing is that these cases, of which the general security files and reports have registered just 45 over a period of less than a year, occurred after the issuance of Law 119, which was supposed to eliminate fraud and deceit in the migrant Egyptian labor market for once and for all. How can the people whom Law 119 has assigned to carry out its sections explain this contradiction? What do they recommend to tighten the noose around these organized crime networks?

The Law Stipulates -- Where Is the Force To Carry It out?

Mrs Nawwal Saqr, director general of the General Emigration and Foreign Employment Department of the Ministry of Manpower, says:

"According to the sections of Law 119, agencies that send workers abroad are supposed to send us the contracts in whose conclusion they played the part of mediator between the employer and workers or employees. Our role is to review these contracts in order to confirm that the conditions stated in them are suitable for our workers. In doing so, we rely on the monthly reports our labor representatives in the Arab countries send us. For example, if an employer makes a contract with a recent university graduate, the salary noted in the contract must be equal to the salary earned by a recent university graduate in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait or the country from which the employer came. However, what happens is that the law compels owners of employment offices to present the contract to our department, in theory, without offering guarantees that will prevent them from acting fraudulently in carrying out this measure. The simplest examples of this situation are embodied in the fact that 64 offices are permitted by us to work in this field, and, of these offices, only six which mediated the conclusion of contracts in 1983 then presented us with contracts, and they presented us with 183 contracts! That means, in the light of these figures, that 58 offices did not mediate in the signing of a single contract for a single Egyptian worker throughout the whole past year. Let us leave the figure of the 183 contracts

to the side after we compare it with the number of contracts in whose conclusion the Ministry of Manpower mediated between Arab employers and Egyptian workers registered in labor offices in the various departments in Egypt; these came to 13,000. One should bear in mind that the number of Arab employers who resorted to the ministry was less than those who resorted to the private offices and middlemen. Thus we can realize the extent of the fraud these offices engage in when they carry out the sections of Law 119."

#### Violations Are the Rule

'Abd-al-'Aziz Badr, the former deputy minister for manpower care, who has led repeated inspection raids on agencies that send Egyptian workers abroad, totalling 85 in number, which resulted in the writing of 40 citations for violations these offices committed when they played the role of mediator, went on to say,

"The problem does not just lie in the agency owners' failure to be careful about submitting copies of the contracts to the Ministry of Manpower, being evasive about conditions they contain that are unfair to Egyptian workers and evading taxes; it also lies in in these agencies' receipt of fees or let us say commissions for every worker who wants to travel and work abroad. If we want to put things in their proper perspective, let us say that there are people in these agencies who commit everything that Law 119 has prohibited. For example they conceal data and information from the competent government bodies and receive sums of money from workers for sending them out. They may try, for a price, to forge personal papers concerning a given worker to make it easier to send him off. The fraud that occurs is either against the employer or the worker, although the latter is always the main victim. The sums the worker pays to the owners of these agencies are determined in accordance with the conditions of the contract and in accordance with the state of supply and demand in the market in general, in accordance with the availability of manpower in a given craft.

"The situation calls for greater strictness. The penalty for violating the law on taking commissions from workers now comes to imprisonment for a period of no less than 3 months and no more than 10, and a fine of no less than 1,000 pounds or more than 10,000, or both, in addition to cancellation of the permit granted to the agency. The crime is still being committed. Indeed, I can say frankly that its boundaries have expanded and that new parties have joined the game."

#### A One-Man Police Force

In the Ministry of Manpower there is something resembling a specialized police force to oversee these agencies' activities. They oversee them, raid them if the situation so requires on the basis of specific warrants, and write out citations for them for repeated violations. They also thoroughly monitor advertisements for Egyptian labor applications to travel abroad that are published, including those that are made in hotels, furnished apartments, commercial locations and so forth. This "police," if one may use the expression, monitors the department overseeing the agencies employing Egyptian labor abroad and the department of labor inspection research. This po-

lice force was established in May 1983 by ministerial decree 39 for the same year.

In spite of the real attention officials in the Ministry of Manpower have shown to this police force, the attention from "red tape" has been stronger and more effective. Let us imagine a "police force" without a single vehicle, whose members cannot find a single office to sit in to coordinate their plans to oversee and inspect, and who are scattered about in the wings and departments of the ministry. Let us indeed imagine a police force which has only one man, a single the supervisor and the person supervised, the person who sets out the plan, is in charge of carrying it out, writes up the citation, and follows up! That is the actual situation exactly, in all its dimensions, as Mr 'Uthman al-Shadhili, the director of the Department of Oversight of Agencies Employing Egyptian Labor Abroad, relates it.

#### In Front of the Consulates

"The dimensions of this organized crime have expanded with the issuance of the law" -- this phrase is still ringing in my head, which is searching for real details to confirm or deny it. At first, I considered that the crimes included in the security files alone were sufficient as proof, but the facts and details which have been discovered since then have been more than voluminous!

At the heart of this labor market you can find an intense struggle which assumes the same forms as the crime which is pursued in it on a daily basis. It is no longer a matter of fixed offices which receive commissions from employers, which is legal, and from workers at the same time; rather, it has gone beyond that, to middlemen who have no headquarters and might not appear "on the stage" at all, or ask for the least compensation from the employer or his agent, and indeed will offer him everything he asks for -- a return plane ticket, a furnished apartment, wild evenings, and a commission for every "head." How is this?

In front of the Arab consulates in Cairo and Alexandria you can easily see numerous persons loitering about here and there, some of them there by virtue of a profession, owners of kiosks or cameras, who share the trait of criminal appearance in terms of dress, facial features and muscles, which are poised for obscure combat on the streets. There are also women, agents who have burst into the labor market for female servants and tradespeople. Everything the employer can ask for is there.

This is a sight which I have seen with my two eyes, and one of the owners of the offices for "exporting manpower abroad" as he calls himself rounded its details out for me. He is a young man from the Gulf, wearing the national clothing of the Gulf, getting down from his car in front of the Saudi consulate. All the people loitering about observe him and rush toward him, men and agents. There is quiet conversation, and in a few moments greeting cards accumulate in this young person's hand. Rather than going into the consulate, he goes back the way he came with one of the loiterers.

What exactly is the situation? Muhammad Sa'id Tharwat, the owner of the Tharwat Office to Export Manpower Abroad, replied:

"The young person around whom these loiterers, as you call them, gather is of course an Arab employer. He is supposed to go to the consulate to receive papers for visas related to the workers he will take with him to his country. These visas just state the number of workers, not their names. He is supposed to go out after receiving the papers to hold a discussion with an employment office in order to reach agreement with it. However, the middlemen standing in front of the the Arab consulates tell him the following: 'The owner of the office will take a commission from you, but we will give you 200 pounds for each "head" you let us choose, and you will stay in a furnished apartment at our expense. All you can ask for can be found in this car.' He, that is the employer or his agent, cannot refuse when faced with an offer of this kind. After that, these middlemen gather workers up here and there. Sometimes the workers actually exist, since the main agent gets their passports and identity cards, getting his commission in advance, so that their whole function after that is to wait in a room in which dozens of people are piled up, and dream of the arrival of a labor contract. When the employer or his agent comes, he enters this room and chooses his workers himself. It is a spectacle which reminds us of labor appointment offices or let us say historic slave markets!"

#### The Game of Secretaries and Previous Jobs

In the course of this tour, one person brought me a greeting card bearing his name and his major previous position, or so he claimed by what he had written on his card. I was told that this employee, who had retired a number of years ago, is now the biggest manpower broker in Egypt, that he also has a number of dangerous men and dangerous women and that habitual criminals had joined his activities! This is not the only shocking story you can hear in this specific atmosphere. There also is the story of "the broker and the 14 secretaries" who get in contact with the agents directly and arrange work affairs with them, and the connection between these stories and other similar ones and some murders and acts of aggression against Arab citizens in furnished apartments or homes in Egypt.

Our conception of the criminal activity the offices and middlemen engage in can be made complete only with the story of Malta. This story can be classified only in the framework of "comedies that make you weep!"

The story began in 1980 and has been repeated dozens of times. When relations between Libya and us were broken off, the labor market in both countries was affected to the point where these offices were prompted to seek new ways of getting Egyptian workers back to Libya again. These people agreed on Malta, the island near Libya, as it does not take visas and complicated procedures to go there. The "pricing" at that time was 500 pounds per head; 50 pounds went for the airplane ticket and 450 into the pocket of the owner of the agency. On the streets of Malta, Egyptian workers loitered around the Libyan consulate, waiting for the person bearing the magic labor contracts. The Maltese authorities at one point collected these workers off the streets, after they had started devouring grass in the parks, put them in a stable for horses, and sprayed them with steam to kill the insects that had spread among them. The Egyptian authorities, at their own expense, returned them to their country. At the first meeting he had with the travel



agency owners, the minister of manpower, Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, related this story in an attempt to provoke some sense of national pride among the people who had gathered together, in the latter part of the 20th century, among the merchants of blood and the servitude of slaves! The story of Malta still can be repeated in other ways and forms.

A League -- for Whom?

After the issuance of Law 119, a number of owners of travel agencies established a league for themselves, to work to eradicate the illegal activities in their field of work. My entree into this league was a conversation which took place between two officials in the Ministry of Manpower. The first began with an observation on the league, stating that it now had about 80 agencies. The second answered him, "How can this be, since the number of offices permitted to work come to just 64?"

Muhammad Sa'id Tharwat, secretary of the board of the league, discussed the story behind its establishment and its role, stating,

"The issuance of Law 119 was an incentive for us to regulate activity in the field of the export of Egyptian workers. Crime had become lamentably widespread in our area of work, especially after the Arab labor market had shrunk and became confined to a number of Gulf countries. The situation reached the point where we started to be ashamed of our profession. We brought together the most senior of our personnel, visited various offices, even those which do not have a good reputation, and asked them to stay within the law. We also said that we would give notice about people who did not restrain themselves. The Minister of Manpower helped us, through consultation and moral support. We consider that adherence to the law by people who own societies is desirable, necessary and also possible, because we are offering a guaranteed commodity on the labor market, which employers in the Arab environment around us are looking for. The Egyptian worker receives double the wage his Korean or Taiwanese counterpart gets, and Arab employers accept him in spite of that. The commitment by the league's offices to the law is supposed to result in protecting the workers from all fraud and forgery."

I admit that I was surveying the apartment the person talking to me lived in; by the way, it was situated in one of the most advanced sections of Cairo. If the old Egyptian aristocracy had known the destiny of this section and its buildings in advance, it might have refrained from building it up! In the apartment was a classic old heater next to a Murano glass sculpture representing a clown, furniture from the metallic age, and contrasting classic paintings; a kind of carnival which shows you wealth and at the same time renounces culture as a value!

I decided to improve the "compositions" that had been and still are pouring into my ears by reviewing the cases concerning the owners of these agencies included in general security reports since the issuance of the law. Silence dominated, because it had become clear that I was "against," not "for"!

## How Can We Run the "Game?"

After spending whole days in an atmosphere which one's conscience could be permitted only to describe as poisoned -- a poisoned atmosphere -- I came out with one question: Why are we patient about this situation? Every day there is a clear violation of the law and the workers and peasants pay the price for it tragically. There are people who sell their wives' last bracelet, go into debt, or borrow from their land, which is small to begin with -- dramatic tales as numerous as phantoms. It is an atmosphere in whose context crime is becoming more and more organized and attracting all the forms of refuse spread about the streets of our daily life in permanent fashion.

In the various stations where this investigation has stopped, truly effective recommendations were to be found.

In the Department of Migration and Foreign Employment, Mrs Nawwal Saqr said, "As the passport officer reviews every passport of every Egyptian traveler, he sees, for instance, his draft status and visa; he must see whether the visa is for work or for travel. If it is for work, he should review the contract and the Ministry of Manpower seal which is supposed to be stamped on it. If the seal is missing, he should not allow the owner of the contract to travel. There must be coordination between us and the other agencies concerned."

Mr al-Shadhili of the Department of Oversight of Agencies for Employing Egyptians Abroad said, "There must be serious intervention by a number of agencies, headed by the Ministry of the Interior, and specialized police forces, like the tourist and supply police, must be formed. We cannot organize traps for these agencies and we do not have the resources of security agencies."

'Abd-al-'Aziz Badr, deputy minister of manpower for manpower care affairs, suggested that consuls should offer entry visas to Arab employers only in when there is a copy of a contract stamped by the Manpower [Ministry]. He considered this recommendation a solution to the various manifestations of fraud and deceit in this area.

The owner of an office to employ Egyptians said that he contacted the consul of an Arab country in Alexandria, explained to him the provisions of Law 119 and asked him to issue a decree that no citizen of his country should appoint anyone coming in to import Egyptian labor to choose his workers outside the agencies that are permitted to operate in this field. The Arab consul was receptive and approved of this approach, as he still does. He recommended that the minister of manpower and the minister of the interior send delegates to contact Arab consuls and persuade them that they should compel their countries' subjects only to contact agencies that have permits for jobs.

All these recommendations most certainly will lead to the greater regulation of the game, but in no case will they guarantee that the Egyptian worker who is looking for job opportunities abroad is spared the greed of agency owners. The legal image of the picture will continue to be the opposite of its



essence. This prompts us to ask a bolder question: Why do we allow the activity of these offices to continue, basically, and keep on ministering to rotten limbs which should be treated only by amputation? Why shouldn't we create a kind of centralism, create a center which would by itself assume the role of intermediary between workers and employers and be subsidiary to the government system? Such a center actually exists in the form of labor bureaus in various departments in Egypt; it engages in its activity alongside and parallel to the private agencies. Let these agencies work in electric equipment, tourist activity or any other field and let the government take charge of exporting those of its workers whom it considers appropriate, in the light of its own view of its requirements of labor, especially since the gap that now exists in Egypt between our skilled labor requirements and that which is available in reality is expanding and increasing.

Some people might say that handing over the keys of this activity to a single government center will not guarantee that the issue will continue to be 100 percent pure. We say that it will at least be purer than this daily massacre which devours the destinies of dozens of people every day as well, and throws them out onto the road in Malta or elsewhere in the form of a shameless tragedy.

A final cry: close these offices and protect Egypt's working resources from the 20th century slave traders.

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USSR DAILY ON LEBANON SITUATION, AMAL MOVEMENT

PM121406 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 84 p 3

[Report by special correspondent A. Zhukov under the rubric "Beirut: On-the-Spot Report": "Lebanon's Hopes"]

[Text] The bearded soldier in a stained uniform, an enormous Colt in the holster at his waist, went up to the window and shouted something. Below, the engine of a truck started up. The soldier bid a hasty farewell and left the room. A few minutes later the truck, judging from the sound, drove off.

"A patrol's gone out," my host, 'Ali Hamdan, chief of the Amal Movement's information service, explained.

We were in a white, three-floor building housing the headquarters of the Amal Movement's central leadership in Burj al-Barajinah, a southern suburb of Beirut. The building was surrounded with sandbags. There were guard posts everywhere. There were also several checkpoints controlling the entrance to Burj al-Barajinah, guarded by men carrying submachineguns from Amal military formations. You cannot gain entry without a special pass.

My interlocutor, 'Ali Hamdan, a vigorous, agile, brawny, mustached 30-year-old, looked somewhat like one of our civil war commissars in his leather jacket and with a gun in his belt. 'Ali seems to be everywhere at once: One minute he's answering a flood of telephone calls, the next minute he's giving orders to subordinates, and then talking with visitors and guests. A university graduate, 'Ali spoke fluent English with a correspondent from London's DAILY TELEGRAPH and French with a group of journalists from Paris.

"It's pandemonium every day," 'Ali smiled. "Of course, sometimes it's pretty hard going, but there's no one else to do it, we don't have any deputies.

In recent months, particularly since 6 February 1984, when power passed to the national patriotic forces and the extensive southern suburbs of the Lebanese capital came under Amal's control, the central leadership workers' job has increased immeasurably.

"As well as purely military tasks," 'Ali Hamdan said, "we are dealing with the problem of providing people with food, we are repairing ruined houses ourselves, and we are setting up hospitals--each with an average of 20-30 beds--in order to give essential aid free of charge to civilians affected by the shelling and to treat wounded fighters. We are the municipal authorities, we are the education organs and we are the health service as well. Journalists are coming to see us and they are writing about us. Yet only a year ago virtually nothing was known about the Amal Movement."

I am bound to agree with what my interlocutor said. Especially as one still encounters in the Western press, especially the U.S. press, articles deliberately distorting the nature of the Amal Movement. Articles concealing the movement's class roots, placing the accent on its external religious attributes and symbols, stressing the allegedly exclusive, "purely religious" character of Amal. But reality puts paid to all these notions, showing what deep roots the movement now has and the considerable evolution that has occurred in its ranks, whereby it has changed from a religious organization into an anti-imperialist movement of the whole people.

"Often they try to attribute our fighters' fearlessness to religious fanaticism." 'Ali Hamdan continued. "And to attribute their staunchness and will for victory to disregard for their own lives. But it has nothing to do with fanaticism and irresponsible self-sacrifice. It is simply that people, having once tasted freedom, do not want to end up on their knees again."

The Shi'ite regions of Lebanon--southern Lebanon and the city of Ba'labakk with outposts in the northeast part of the country--have always been zones of poverty and misery. Some 90 percent of the able-bodied Shi'ite population has been used as unskilled labor--street sweepers, longshoremen, garbage men. Even in the old days of prosperity, when Lebanon was the "Switzerland of the Near East," when there was one bank per 5,000 inhabitants, including babies, Burj al-Barajinah and other southern suburbs of Beirut looked little better than they are now: the population of poor Shi'ites did not have the money even to patch up their ramshackle dwellings.

It was then, in the seventies, that groups of Shi'ite free-thinkers began to be set up--people who would not tolerate the oppressed condition of Lebanon's largest community. It was on the basis of these groups--representatives of the clergy, the petty and to some extent middle bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia--that the new political movement, which came to be called Amal and was headed by Imam Musa al-Sadr, was formed in the political arena.

When Israel seized part of southern Lebanon in 1978 and set up a puppet enclave there, enlisting the services of the obedient traitor Major Haddad in charge of the 1,500 thugs in the right-wing Christian militia, a campaign of persecution against the Shi'ites began. The barbaric actions of the occupiers and their toadies forced people to take refuge in northern parts

of the country, above all in the capital. Tens of thousands of Shi'ites left their homes and joined the vast army of poor folk in Beirut's southern suburbs, which made their plight even worse.

"In the Western press we are often called the Hope movement (Amal means hope in Arabic--A. Zhukov)," 'Ali Hamdan continued. "To some extent they are right. The movement was born with the hope of a change in the existing system where a handful of people get rich on the sweat and blood of the vast majority of the population. But, in fact, Amal is formed from the initial letters of the Arab name 'Defenders of The Lebanese Resistance,' an organization with thousands of members which, in fall 1983, became the biggest force opposing the U.S.-Zionist deal and the Lebanese right-wing Christians supporting it, who had not abandoned hope of remolding Lebanon according to the U.S. pattern."

The movement's strength--military and moral--was very clearly manifested during the battles in early February 1984 when, defying the guns of the killer-battleship "New Jersey" and even clashing audaciously with U.S. Marines, Amal's warriors, together with other national patriotic forces, took control of West Beirut and established a system expressing the interests of the broadest masses.

"Now let's go to our position on the 'green line'," 'Ali Hamdan suggested. "You can watch us fighting."

Ten minutes through the shattered streets of Beirut's southern suburbs and we're in Bir al-'Abd.

"Take care," my companions warn, handing me a green bulletproof waistcoat. "The sniper zone starts 40 meters beyond that corner."

To be frank, I didn't need to be persuaded to don the 5-kilogram waistcoat. It buttoned right up to the neck. There was a new film in my camera--my only weapon.

In my series of short dashes, trying not to linger in the open, we made it to the firing line. In front of us lay a wasteland with a tall growth of weeds, sand banked up against the houses. Suddenly, somewhere on a level with us, over the wall, a heavy machinegun began to growl. In the neighboring room of the half-destroyed building we had entered sat a man on an ordinary kitchen stool. He wore a uniform without insignia, he had a shaven head and an enormous beard and was blasting away with a large-caliber DSHK [Degtarev and Shpagin Heavy Machine gun].

"A DUSHKA," 'Ali said, mispronouncing the name and pointing to the machine-gun. "They're particularly fond of them..."

Having emptied the magazine, the man smartly detached it and went down, unhurriedly, into the cellar. Taking advantage of the break, the snipers

opened up again from the other side. The bullets whistled in. There was the thud of a mortar, followed by another and another. Mortar bombs started to explode quite nearby.

"Let's go into the cellar," 'Ali suggested. "The firing will be over in half an hour and we can move on then."

In the cellar I asked 'Ali:

"Who are 'they,' the men who are fond of the DSHK?"

"The orthodox Shi'ites," came the reply. "They come to us from Ba'labakk..."

Ever since its foundation the Amal Movement has comprised two main trends--the secular Shi'ites, now headed by the lawyer Nabih Birri (they constitute the overwhelming majority--A. Zhukov), and the orthodox Shi'ites, or Shi'ite fundamentalists, members of the Islamic Jihad organization, headed by former teacher H. Musawi (they number no more than few thousand--A. Zhukov). The latter are in Ba'labakk, in northeast Lebanon.

The two trends disagree on the future of Lebanon. H. Musawi's followers want Lebanon to become an "Islamic republic" like Iran. Most of the secular Shi'ites reject this idea, demanding that the Shi'ite community should have the same rights as the others within the context of a united, secular Lebanon. But their different views do not prevent the fighters from the two groupings' military formations from fighting together for their country's freedom.

The somewhat protracted bombardment ceased. We emerged from the cellar. There was smoking debris all around. Where a car had been standing only an hour before in the middle of the street, there was now a gaping crater caused by an exploding mortar bomb.

CSO: 4400/231

# POLITICAL STALEMATE TO CONTINUE FOR MONTHS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 52, 7 Apr 84 p 11

[Article by Ibrahim Barjawi: "American and Israeli Elections and the War in the Gulf Postponed the Solution to the Lebanese Crisis in Lausanne"]

[Text] The latest round of talks in Lausanne, which frustrated an agreement on a formula of coexistence between Lebanese sects, may be a victory for the Sunnis. This was due to the skills of former prime ministers Sa'ib Salam and Rashid Karami and to demands imposed by the nature of the Arab systems and their incompatibility. It is a victory for the Sunnis because the talks dealt exclusively with suggestions agreed upon by the Shiites and the Druze, who forced on Lausanne an investigation into the results of the change in the balance of power and the necessity for a national and sectarian equilibrium. This change gives the Sunni prime minister authority to guarantee this equilibrium. However, it is certain that the result of the Lausanne talks marked the final failure of the Lebanese formula of 1943 based on the division of executive authority between the Maronites and the Sunnis. The new Lebanon is in need of a new formula based upon the distinguishing marks of the generation of the '80s and the preceding forty years of independence.

According to Karim Baqraduni, the Lebanese Forces, which represent a large sector of Christian youths, believe that this new formula must be the result of an agreement between the Shiites and the Maronites to share power. The new formula, according to Nabih Birri and Walid Junblatt, must be the abolition of confessional politics and the espousal of absolute democracy along with what it reflects--the will of all the Lebanese people without sectarian discrimination between them. In this Birri and Junblatt speak for the Shiites and the Druze.

In Lausanne the Lebanese Forces did not have the opportunity to present their ideas. Junblatt and Birri presented their suggestion, which was counteracted by the idea of federalism which was presented by Sham'un and al-Jumayyil. Federalism was opposed by Salam and Karami, who supported Junblatt and Birri. At this, President Amin al-Jumayyil, Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam and Saudi Minister Ibrahim al-Mas'ud intervened and a compromise adopting the basic Salam and Karami viewpoint was found. Pierre al-Jumayyil, Walid Junblatt, and Nabih Birri reluctantly agreed. Former president Sulayman Franjiah, with Camille Shamuun, adamantly opposed it because, according to Mr Franjiah, the compromise impairs the

rights of Christians and especially the Maronites. The compromise was dropped and a new equation came into light placing all Muslims--Salam, Karami, 'Usayran, Birri, and Junblatt--in one group calling for the abolition of confessional politics, and all Christians--President Amin al-Jumayyil, Camille Sham'un, Sulayman Franjiyah, Pierre al-Jumayyil--in another group rejecting the unified Muslim position.

The two young men, Junblatt and Birri, came to believe in the impossibility of an understanding between themselves and the mentality of the old men who shared the dialogue with them in Lausanne. They now hope, perhaps, to reach an understanding with Christians of their own generation who might be found among the Lebanese Forces. This hope is shared on the other side of the fence, by Fadi Afram, Samir Ja'ja', Dani Sham'un, Elie Hubayqah, Michel Samahah, and Karim Baqraduni, who see no answer to the Lebanese crisis except the federal system. This, of course, is opposed by Birri and Junblatt who support a system of a single democratic, non-sectarian Lebanon.

Which one of these two forces will be more effective on the Lebanese scene in winning the other to its side?

In recent conversations with Lebanese political leaders, foreign diplomatic circles in Beirut expressed their conviction that the formula of a single Lebanon based on the 1943 National Pact is finally dead, even buried, and that the Lebanese, if they want to continue living, have to coexist in a federal system composed of sectarian cantons where each canton can choose its way of life. The same sources expect bloody incidents similar to those which took place in West Beirut right before the rise of the new system. These incidents aim at bringing about demographic changes and at creating the reasons and the circumstances for the creation of separate sectarian cantons.

President Amin al-Jumayyil contradicts the opinion of these circles and is still convinced that the "Constitutional Document" which was announced by Franjiyah and Rashid Karami in 1976 is still, with some amendments, possible and that this document is capable of restoring the unity of Lebanon and the coexistence of her people as it was in the past. The support of President Hafiz al-Asad and King Fahd Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz for this course strengthens al-Jumayyil's conviction, especially as they wish to cool down the Lebanese scene so they may devote their energy to the region's continuing events. In addition to this, a great number of Lebanese are still in favor of a single Lebanon even if they differ about its new composition. President al-Jumayyil's circles think that Franjiyah, Sham'un, Salam, Karami, 'Usayran, and Pierre al-Jumayyil in their personal convictions still support the 1943 formula with some amendments based on the "Constitutional Document," and some additions starting with the establishment of a Senate whose members are divided among the six principal sects.

These circles believe that the solution suggested by the president in the last session of the Lausanne conference was not decided upon because of regional and international events, which indicates that the time to solve "the Lebanese crisis" has not yet come, and the solution has to wait the American presidential elections and the anticipated Israeli Knesset

elections, the completion of the new succession in the Kremlin, and the course of the Iraqi-Iranian war.

The same circles confirm that the President's solution will be used until the time for "the solution" has come. This time is not far away, but it will be preceded by the following steps:

1. Entrenching the Lebanese-Syrian agreement; coordination between the two governments.
2. Consolidating the cease-fire, separating the warring forces, and opening the crossing points, the airport, and the port.
3. Forming government of leading figures who will steer the ship of state until a national unity government is formed.
4. Inviting young and highly educated people to participate in the constituent organization which will provide ideas for the solution.
5. Taking security measures in the south that satisfy Israel and get the approval of Syria and the superpowers. This might be done through the United Nations.
6. Reconvening the dialogue conference in order to adopt the suggestions of the constituent committee and to form a national unity government.
7. Holding new parliamentary elections after amending the election law, so the suggestions of the constituent committee can be adopted and implemented. In case new elections cannot be held, appointment of new members in the present parliament should be done in accordance with the suggestion of the constituent organization.

The presidential circles concluded their predictions by saying that a security truce will prevail for not less than 6 months. This will begin right after finalizing the Lebanese-Syrian understanding, whatever the disagreements on the priority or manner of carrying out the above-mentioned clauses will be. After these 6 months something different that no one can predict might take place. It all depends on rapid regional and international developments.

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CSO: 4404/409



## PROSPECTS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SECULARISM VIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 52, 7 Apr 84 pp 73-75

[Article by 'Isa Bin Hisham: "Is Secularism Possible? Moslems Refuse Secularism Because It Infringes Upon Religion; Christians Accept It in Order To Free Themselves of Politics"]

[Text] Mufti Hasan Khalid: We forcefully reject secularism because it contradicts Islam.

Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din: Islam is a system of life that does not allow room for any other system, and it is not isolated from everyday life.

Cardinal Khuraysh: Secularism, although not strictly acceptable to religion, renders religion a service, for it frees it from politics.

Hasan Sa'b: Secularism exceeds everything to reach the relationship between mind and religion and between mind and government. As a consequence, it is acceptable in Islam.

In the middle of the 19th century, Karl Marx, the German journalist and writer, was writing from Berlin for an American journal. Among what he sent to that journal was a letter in which he talked about events in the East and especially the confessional war which raged in Lebanon for 20 years (1840-1860). Karl Marx, the author of the well-known scientific doctrine, described that as "war between primitive, barbaric tribes."

If Karl Marx were to return to this world and see from Berlin what is broadcast concerning Lebanon via satellites and other communication means, he would undoubtedly insist on his description, for the Lebanese nineteenth century war was fought between two tribes while the present war has involved all the tribes there.

Seventeen sects (or tribes) is the number of sects that are recognized by Lebanese law. Despite all the attempts that have taken place since independence in 1943 to try to lessen incompatibilities between these sects, to reach

Lebanese national unity and to raise the national banner above all banners, these attempts have come to no avail. In fact, the non-sectarian sect, which includes everyone who has kept away from sectarian strife, is definitely the weakest sect.

Seventeen religious sects have been cast into different political, social, economic, and cultural molds. These molds have blocked or almost blocked essential intercourse between these communities and left appearances and nonessentials. Despite the fact that these communities exist next to each other, they do not interact with each other. That means that they do not feel for each other's problems; each denies the other, does not interact with the other, and does not consider the other's individuals as fellow citizens.

Perhaps the most important attempt to root out the colloquial political language and replace it with a new one was what was termed "secularism." Adherents to this doctrine looked around themselves and found only feuding and fighting sects. Some of them talked about fear and others talked about deceit. They wanted to eliminate this language in all its common dialects, but no reform attempt in the world, in Lebanon or in any other place, has known such sweeping failure as the Lebanese secularist movement.

Since the '40s, Lebanese secularists have started to prescribe the remedy that was used in Europe where it succeeded, and that was used elsewhere, including Turkey, where opinions differ as to its success. The most prominent secular movement was established by some Lebanese lawyers. Its mission was to preach secularism as a solution to the problems of a country infected by sectarianism. There were no more than 10 or 15 of these lawyers. They worked with a mystical spirit like that of the Fabian Society that preached socialism in England at the end of the 19th century. To encourage inter-marriage between Christians and Moslems, they paid willing couples round trip expenses to Turkey or Cyprus in order to get a civil marriage.

Concerning these civil marriages the situation in Lebanon was amusing. Since personal status laws such as marriage and inheritance laws are in the hands of religious institutions, religious courts and churches conduct marriage ceremonies and not civil courts as is common in Europe and the world. Lebanon does not have a civil authority to conduct a civil marriage. Lebanese who fell in love disregarding the wishes of their families and the religious institutions are forced to have a civil marriage abroad. The closest place is Turkey or Cyprus--ten hours by car from Beirut to Adana in Turkey or half an hour by plane to Nicosia in Cyprus. These Lebanese unknowingly declared love and war at the same time. They declared their love for each other and war on those who forced them to travel by land, sea, or air in order to legalize a natural relationship that takes place without complications a thousand times daily all over the world.

What is amusing is that Lebanese law does not recognize a civil marriage that takes place in Beirut but recognizes it as valid if it takes place in Adana, Nicosia or any other place in the world. Now the Lebanese who marries a Lebanese or a foreign woman before a civil court outside Lebanon is treated by the law like a Lebanese who marries inside Lebanon before the religious

authorities, despite the fact that marriage is considered an important part of what is called the "general social system." Earlier a civil marriage which was conducted abroad was considered null and did not have legal validity because it contradicted the "general social system," which requires a religious ceremony; but God is eternally kind and judicial interpretations made civil marriage conducted abroad legal, perhaps on the basis that it is considered legal where it took place.

Other attempts were made to spread secularism in ways other than through civil marriage abroad, including using political parties. It is known that in addition to sectarian Lebanese parties there are also non-sectarian parties such as the Communist Party, the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and other pan-Arab parties. In Lebanon, everything must become Lebanized in the end. After the war in Lebanon started, everything submitted to its laws. The Communist Party, in most of its cadres, became the Shiite Party, while the Syrian Social Nationalist Party became the party of the Greek Orthodox or the party of the regions populated mainly by Greek Orthodox, such as Duhur al-Shuwayr, al-Kurah, and the Orthodox in Tripoli. Thus everyone had recourse to the religion to which they owed allegiance.

Perhaps the party that greatly concerned itself with secularism since the time of its founding and included it in its charter as a basic article, if not the basic article and its sole concern, was the Democratic Party. This party was founded by about 1,000 members belonging to all sects. Its last president was lawyer Joseph Mughayzil, who as a youth was a member of the Phalangist party. Later he adopted the concept of Arab nationalism, and served for many years as the head of the "Arab Cultural Club" in Beirut.

Most members of the Democratic party were in general lawyers, engineers, journalists, government employees and intellectuals. In a word, they were a group of intelligentsia. The problem with those people was the fact that they were officers without soldiers because the true soldiers, the public, joined the true kinds of the sects. Once these officers of the Democratic Party realized that they were the only secular people in a 'military' society they sealed their office on Badareau Street with red wax and returned to their homes. The signboard on the balcony of the closed office is the only reminder of a party that could be compared with a bird singing with a different flock.

Among other things, secularism means no interference by the clergy in affairs of the state, no discrimination by the government among religions, treating them equally, and equal treatment of all believers regardless of religion. But equality in Lebanon since the founding of the modern Lebanese political system in 1920 through independence from France in 1943 was simply a pretty word which existed in the dictionary but not in reality. There were special standards which were applied, not even following the quota set for each sect as a whole. For example, if the prime minister was from Beirut, the political positions set for the Sunnis went mainly to the Sunnis of Beirut. If the president of the republic was from a particular region, the Maronites of that region had the lion's share. This indicates that there was no Maronite or Moslem consensus, much less a comprehensive Lebanese consensus. The president or prime minister's horizon did not cross the border of his region or the

border of a neighboring region. This explains the reason for the collapse of Lebanon.

Secularism in Lebanon is sometimes accepted by everyone, and sometimes rejected by everyone. At one time the Christians were for it, and the Moslems were against it. But would the Christian remain faithful to secularism when he sees a Moslem Sunni, Shiite, or Druze becoming a citizen with equal rights, having the same ambition of becoming president? Accepting the logic of secularism should lead to accepting a Moslem president. Does the Christian accept that?

Further clarifying the picture, we must say that the Lebanese Christian is not the only problem. The subjective Lebanese reality makes everyone a problem, not to mention the interference of foreign countries adding grave complications. What the Lebanese learns is hatred and not love. We remember with nostalgia the days when marriages between Christians and Moslems were popular. Now this marriage is like a fruit out of season.

From the historical and theoretical point of view, it is hard to assert whether Christianity and Islam are secular religions. In the West the clergy was involved in politics in one way or another until the victory of secularism returned the clergy to their churches. But is the present West truly secular? There are many examples from modern and contemporary history indicating that deep down the West is Christian even if it carries the banner of secularism (see: "The Present Islamic World" by Shakib Arsalan, which discusses separation of church and state in the West).

Most Muslim theologians and intellectuals believe that Islam is a spiritual and worldly religion and that secularism, as Mufti Hasan Khalid stated, contradicts Islam and as a consequence is forcefully rejected. Many Muslim theologians believe that politics is one of the expressions of religion that cannot be separated from it, because Islam is a creed, a law, and a way of life.

Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, the vice-president of the Supreme Islamic Shiite Council, believes that Islam is a system of life that does not allow room for any other system, and is not isolated from everyday life.

On the other hand we find no lack of completely opposing opinions. Among the Lebanese Christians, we find that the cardinal, Patriarch Mar Antonius Butrus Khuraysh, who occupies one of the highest positions in the Maronite sects, considers that secularism is not strictly acceptable to religion but it renders religion a service, for it frees it from politics. During their last convention, Lebanese Christian patriarchs and bishops made secularism one of their demands even though in Europe it was sought by the people and not the clergy.

Dr Hasan Sa'b, dean of the Institute of Information, might be the avant-garde of Lebanese intellectuals who consider secularism acceptable by Islam. According to him, secularism is a modern European form of rationalism or empiricism, but in its ordinary definition it means rationality, which

therefore is not more connected with the historical institutional difficulties that appeared in Western and Christian society than it is with any other society. But secularism goes beyond everything to the relationship between mind and religion and between mind and state and to the nature of the mind's role or the role of man in organizing his political life in particular his social life in general or his worldly life, as it is called by Islam. If secularism is applied in this true human way it would permit Islam, which does not have a church, to explore it.

No less valid theory about secularism and rationalism is the theory of a Christian clergyman who is well-known for both his spiritual and intellectual liberalism. He is Bishop Gregory Haddad, the former Eastern Catholic bishop of Beirut. Bishop Gregory is the father of many attempts aimed at peace-making between people not only in this life, but also in the next life. One of Bishop Gregory's attempts was made during a convention between Christians and Muslims in Tripoli, Libya. During that convention he stated that all the revealed religions are good, and that all prophets come from God.

Despite extensive theorizing on secularism in Lebanon, it did not progress one step forward, neither in the state and its institutions nor among the populace because people in Lebanon are very attached to their sect. One should never forget that even if sectarianism might be a fertile ground for secularism it stays its number one enemy.

Why does secularism not flourish in Lebanon? The answer to this eternal question might be found once historical and sociological studies concerning the mentality of groups and sects and their traditions are conducted. But the best way to secularism could be through a Greek word called democracy. In applying this word people pass from the barbaric tribal stage described by Karl Marx to a civilized and modern stage!

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## AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN LEADER: 80 PERCENT OF AFGHAN TERRITORY LIBERATED

Rabat L'OPINION in French 20 Jan 84 p 4

[Text] Outside the summit, at the Fourth Islamic Conference, the official spokesman for the Afghan Mujahedin and the president of the Islamic Association, one of the factions of the Afghan resistance, gave an interview to M.A.P. in which he spoke of the demands of the Afghan Mujahedin about the military situation in Afghanistan, about the conditions of negotiations with the Soviet Union as well as the position of the Mujahedin on certain Islamic questions.

Regarding short and long run demands of the Mujahedin, Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani emphasized that the principal demand is the retreat of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the return of the Afghan refugees which add up to more than four millions, three millions of whom are settled in Pakistan and on million in Iran. The second demand relates to the inauguration of a Muslim regime in the Afghan land, the right of the Afghan people to self-determination, to the edification of an independent state in the national land and the restoration of all that has been destroyed in the course of the Soviet invasion of Muslim Afghanistan.

Answering a question on the possibility of negotiations between the Mujahedin and the Afghan regime, Mr Rabbani indicated that this question is not to be mentioned because this regime "does not exist and does not consist but of a group of spies and agents called upon, who will disappear as soon as the Soviets retreat from Afghanistan, because the people swear to it."

The official spokesman of the Afghan Mujahedin, moreover, described the Afghan regime as being one of "Soviet gendarme and not having any freedom to act," pointing out that even speeches by Babrak Karmal, on occasions, are subject to prior check of the responsible Soviet in Afghanistan.

Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani thus underlined that the two valid representatives are the Afghan people, represented by the Mujahedin, and the Soviets, because he said, "the Afghan Government is nonexistent and that it is the Soviets who govern the country."

Mr Rabbani, however, emphasized that these negotiations should be limited to the question of the retreat of the Soviets from Afghanistan.

"As for what are the determining questions for the Afghan people, as to the regime that should be instituted and the management of internal as well as external affairs, neither USSR nor any other country has the right to interfere, because the decision is that of the Afghan people," he added.

Recalling the military situation in Afghanistan, Mr Rabbani declared that the Mujahedin were able to liberate 80 percent of the Afghan homeland, and in spite of the inadequacies in defense means, they have been able to destroy hundreds of planes and thousands of tanks and capture several soldiers.

Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani, on the other hand, brings it to the attention that the Afghan Mujahedin do not enjoy any aid from the United States and that the news stating otherwise, are without foundation because the Mujahedin do not want to make Afghanistan a tension zone between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Mujahedin will not allow either the United States or any other country to interfere in their internal affairs.

Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani condemned, otherwise, the intervention of the United States in the Middle East question and the Zionist aggression against Palestinian and Lebanese people.

Speaking of the Islamic Summit, Mr Rabbani estimated that the Islamic community puts great hopes on this conference because of the fact that it is held at a moment when this community has to face dangerous challenges and plots.

Mr Burhanuddin Rabbani recalled that among questions submitted to the leaders of the Islamic world, are that of al-Qods, Zionist aggression against Palestinian camps and against the Lebanese people and their territory, the occupation of Palestine and the question of Afghan resistance against the aggression of Soviet forces for nearly 5 years, as well as the questions relating to the repression of Muslims in numerous African and Asian countries.

Mr Rabbani who estimated that the Iran-Iraq conflict is one of the problems which tears the Islamic community apart, underlined the extreme importance of this type of meetings for the Islamic community who awaits with hope for the results of the Islamic conference and the resolutions and initiatives which it will be called upon to adopt.

The official spokesman of the Afghan Mujahedin thanked Morocco, his majesty, the king, his government and his people for his support of the Afghan question and his permanent defense of the Islamic questions.

It should be remembered that the coalition of the Mujahedin consists of the following factions:

The Hizb-e Islami, the Jamiat-e Islami, the Harakat-e Enqelab-e Islami, the Jabheh-ye Najat-e Melli (National Salvation Front), Islamic Front (Mahaz-e Islami) and the Islamic Movement.

CSO: 4619/44



AFGHANISTAN

KABUL REPORTS WESTERN AID TO COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

LD272147 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] The United States and other imperialist forces are openly supporting the Afghan counterrevolutionaries entrenched in the territory of Pakistan.

Fresh evidence of this claim is the visit of U.S. Senator De Concini to Pakistan. An American reporter in Islamabad has reported that the senator met with General Ziaul Haq, military ruler of Pakistan, during his stay in Rawalpindi and expressed appreciation for his regime's cooperation in providing assistance to Afghan counterrevolutionaries and for his participation in the undeclared war against the DRA.

Several representatives of Washington and other Western imperialist forces have recently, one after another, visited Pakistan. During their stay in this country they found it necessary to visit the so-called Afghan refugee camps in Peshawar, Baluchistan. Meanwhile, these representatives promised the Afghan counterrevolutionaries the all-round support and broad assistance of their respective countries.

According to press reports, in the current year the Pentagon has provided the counterrevolutionaries with \$125 million, Britain 18 million pounds sterling, the FRG DM60 million, and Japan 4 million yen, for the continuation of the Afghan bandits' subversive actions.

These bandits also obtained various kinds of weapons including artillery and other heavy military equipment from the above countries. The saboteurs of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries also learn the tactics of sabotage and subversion under the supervision of CIA instructors in Pakistani territory.

CSO: 4665/32



IRANIAN GROUPS GREET AFGHAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY

LD282208 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] The Central Committee of the majority wing of Iran's Feda'i-ye Khalq has sent a congratulatory telegram to Kabul on the sixth anniversary of the glorious April revolution. The telegram was addressed to the PDPA Central Committee.

The message says: It is a great pleasure for us to express the best comradely wishes of Iran's Feda'i-ye Khalq, on this great day, to the Central Committee of the vanguard party of the working class and all toilers of Afghanistan, the fraternal PDPA and its wise leader Comrade Babrak Karmal. We sincerely wish you and each member of your heroic party further great success in the formidable struggle.

We are confident that the heroic people of Afghanistan, under the leadership of their vanguard and courageous party, will decisively defeat the united front of reaction and international imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism.

The treachery and crimes of the Chinese hegemonists against revolutionary Afghanistan will bring them nothing but disgrace and further shame.

The Central Committee of Iran's Tudeh Party sent a congratulatory message to Kabul on the sixth anniversary of the April revolution. The message was addressed to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council.

The message says: The Central Committee of Iran's Tudeh Party is pleased to present the sincere congratulations of all its members and the supporters of Iran's Tudeh Party, to you dear comrade, on the sixth anniversary of the April revolution.

The continuous, uncompromising and principled struggle of the PDPA, under your leadership--the indefatigable fighter--with your faithful revolutionary friends, no doubt will add vivid pages to contemporary history on the emancipating struggle of the world's people. We are confident that the glorious April revolution, despite the continuing conspiracies of international imperialism, led by the criminal U.S. imperialism and reactionaries of the region, will reach its desired destiny which is the victory of the toilers of revolutionary Afghanistan.

REBELS REPORTEDLY DEALT SOVIETS BIG BLOW

Kuching THE BORNEO POST in English 19 Apr 84 p 14

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Wed.— Afghan Mujahideens shot down a Soviet helicopter and knocked out numerous tanks and armoured personnel carriers in fierce fighting during the past week in Shomali region just north of Kabul, western diplomatic source said here.

Soviet casualties in the fighting in Guldara and Shakardara valleys were moderate, the source added.

A joint Soviet-Afghan force entered Shakaradara on April 7 and several days later went into Guldara, the sources said. Frequent bombing runs by MIG aircraft and helicopter gunships against the targets were supplemented by artillery bombardment at night from the Soviet military camp at Khaik Khana in Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Civilian casualties from the bombings were said to be high while more than two dozen 'Mujahideen' fighters were killed in Shakaradara Valley alone.

Shomali region has been under attack by the Soviets for months. Soviets appeared to constitute about two-thirds of the ground troops committed to the present operations which are concentrated in the approaches to the strategic Panjshir valley.

Mujahideens from Panjshir valley and Paghman have joined local fighters in resisting the Soviet-Afghan operation in the Southern Shomali, the diplomatic sources said.

However, the celebrated commander of the resistance forces of Panjshir, Ahmad Shan Masood, has reportedly recalled many of his fighters to the valley in anticipation of an imminent attack on the valley itself.

Although the Soviets were attempting to seal off the approaches to Panjshir, the diplomatic sources said, the valley itself was free of hostilities.

Both sides appeared to be preparing for a new round of fighting after Masood spurned Soviet offers to extend the ceasefire agreed in the spring of 1983 following the failure of the sixth Soviet offensive to take the valley.

Meanwhile, Masood was reported by reliable sources to have purged the ranks of his fighters of suspected agents of the Afghan secret service, 'Khad'.

Some 50 such agents were said to have been identified on the information supplied by the resistance's own agents in 'Khad'.—Bernama

CSO: 4600/545

EASIER TRAVEL TO USSR FOR AFGHANS

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 18 Apr 84 p 17

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Tues. — The Soviet Union's integration of Afghanistan took another step forward yesterday with an announcement by Kabul Radio that Afghan citizens can now travel freely across the border into Soviet Central Asia and apparently beyond.

The State-run radio, in a broadcast monitored here, said the transportation protocol was signed yesterday and takes effect today.

It is the first time that Afghans have been allowed to travel between the two countries since the December 1979 Soviet military intervention.

It was not clear what, if any, travel documents would be required to make the crossing over the Oxus River from Hairatan, in northern Afghanistan, to Termez in Soviet Central Asia.

The so-called "Friendship Bridge" spanning the Oxus River is the main entry route into the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. The protocol, in effect, means there is now a direct link between Kabul, the Afghan capital, to Dushanbe, a distance of 448km (280 miles).

Radio Kabul said the opening of the route was a further example of advances in the fields of economy, culture and politics as a result of Afghan-Soviet friendship.

CSO: 4600/544

## AFGHANISTAN

### BRIEFS

SRV ENVOY--Kabul, 18 April, BAKHTAR--Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the CC of the PDPA and president of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA received Van Ba Kiem, the new ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the DRA for the presentation of his credentials here today. Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost was also present during the presentation of the credentials of the new ambassador of Vietnam. [Excerpt] [LD240540 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 19 Apr 84]

GDR GIFTS--Kabul, 21 April, BAKHTAR--An aeroplane carrying gifts of solidarity organization of the GDR for the peace, solidarity and friendship organization of the DRA arrived here today. These gifts comprised of medicines, milk, motorcycles, sewing machines and teaching materials weighing 11 tons. [Text] [LD240540 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0436 GMT 22 Apr 84]

USSR BUS SERVICE AGREEMENT--Kabul, 16 April, BAKHTAR--An agreement on use of the international motorway between Hairatan city of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Termez city was concluded between v/o "Transastvo" of the Soviet Union and the national bus service of Afghanistan in Termez city. The said motorway passes the Friendship Bridge on Oxus River and right now in addition to railway it is used by cars as well. Before the opening of the friendship bridge and the present bus service the people used to cross the Oxus in rafts or kayaks. The bus service between the two countries begins from tomorrow, 17 April. [Excerpts] [LD240540 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0418 GMT 17 Apr 84]

USSR MINES PROTOCOL--Kabul, 22 April, BAKHTAR--A protocol of cooperation in the spheres of survey of mines and geology was signed here today between the Ministry of Mines and Industries of the DRA and the Ministry of Geology and Gas Industries of the USSR. On the basis of this protocol the survey of oil and gas resources will be carried out with the cooperation of the specialists of the friendly country of the USSR in the areas which are ready for exploitation. [Text] [LD240540 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0424 GMT 23 Apr 84]

TRADE UNIONS--Kabul, 21 April, BAKHTAR--One hundred ninety thousand persons are members of the trade unions of the DRA. They are organised in over 1600 primary organizations led by 29 provincial councils. This was stated by a spokesman of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the DRA to a Bia correspondent. The trade unions were established for the first time in the history of Afghanistan after the April Revolution in 1978. Over 20 million Afghanis were

accrued to the concerned organizations due to the work emulation drive organized by the trade unions in the last Afghan year ended 19 March 1984. The spokesman added that over 3000 children of the working people were sent to the Soviet Union for recreation in the same period. The trade unions of Afghanistan have established friendly relations with 129 trade union organizations of different countries and have actively participated in 28 international conferences and twelve congresses of international unions. [Excerpts] [LD240540 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0439 GMT 22 Apr 84]

SOVIET WOMEN'S DELEGATION--Kabul, 23 April, BAKHTAR--Anahita Ratibzad, member of Politburo of the CC of PDPA and president of the Democratic Women Organization of the DRA, met here today with the delegation of the Soviet Women's Committee under the chairmanship of Zinaida Federova. The delegation have arrived in Kabul to participate in the sixth anniversary of the glorious April Revolution. [Excerpt] [LD260634 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0427 GMT 24 Apr 84]

HUNGARIAN WOMEN'S DELEGATION--Kabul, 23 April, BAKHTAR--Maria Doshk member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the National Council of Women of that country arrived here today at the invitation of the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan to participate in the sixth anniversary celebration of the April Revolution. She was welcomed at Kabul International Airport by Jamila Palwasha, alternate member of the PDPA Central Committee, Jamila Nahid, in charge of the international relations department of the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan and Hungarian ambassador in Kabul. [Text] [LD260634 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0439 GMT 24 Apr 84]

BULGARIAN GIFTS--Kabul, 23 April, BAKHTAR--The trade unions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has given a quantity of tools and equipment as gratis aid to the trade unions of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. [Text] [LD260634 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0415 GMT 24 Apr 84]

CSO: 4600/543

NVOI VIEWS ANTI-KHOMEYNI STUDENT PROTESTS IN EUROPE

TA021930 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian 1730 GMT 2 May 84

[Unattributed commentary: "The Scope of Protests Against the Islamic Regime's Crimes Is Expanding"]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots: Despite the false claims of the leaders and mouthpieces of the dictatorial Islamic Government of Iran concerning the establishment of social justice and the rule of God and the Koran in our country--to which they resort in order to cover up their own crimes and bloodshed--large-scale struggle and protests against the crimes of the tyrannical Islamic rulers are expanding throughout the world.

Iran youths and students residing in foreign countries--who are at the forefront of these struggles--resort to demonstrations, distribution of pamphlets, hunger strikes, sit-ins and so on, in order to mobilize public opinion, including in those countries where they reside, against the Islamic government's barbaric policies. Following the hunger strike by Iranians residing in European countries, which is still continuing, Iranian students and youths--who are struggling against the bloody and superstition-worshipping Islamic regime, as well as against the savage attitude of that regime's executioners toward political prisoners, and the terror and repression prevailing in our homeland--are waging various forms of struggle in a number of European countries. They are attracting the attention of world public opinion by every means to the terror and repression prevailing in Iran and to the barbarism, persecutions and police restrictions in our country, as well as to the use of physical and mental torment and tortures against political prisoners.

In Vienna, the capital of Austria, a number of struggling Iranians chained themselves to the iron fence of the building housing the office of Amnesty International. By this means, while expressing solidarity with all political prisoners who are in the captivity of the Islamic regime and with the Iranian people whose hands and legs are chained by this government, they have shown their unshakeable determination and resoluteness to struggle for the sake of reviving the popular, anti-imperialist and anti-despotic goals and targets of the Iranian nation's revolution.

In London, struggling Iranian students residing in Britain, recently while staging a rally, protested against the Islamic regime's terrorist policy, and

by expressing solidarity with political prisoners and the Iranian people, explicitly asked officials of the Islamic Republic to end the policy of terror and repression.

In Paris, a large number of Iranian students during a rally in front of the UNESCO building, drew the attention of public opinion in Paris to the crimes and barbarism of the Islamic regime which has betrayed the Iranian nation's revolution and which has turned Iran into a prison for free people. They called on the inhabitants of Paris to raise their voices of protest against the terrorist acts of the tyrannical and cunning Islamic rulers against revolutionary progressive forces, and to rise in support of the Iranian people, revolutionaries and imprisoned democrats.

In many other European cities as well, Iranian youths and students, in the course of street demonstrations and by taking advantage of various forms of struggle, are exposing the anti-human and terrorist policies of Iran's tyrannical rulers. Gradually these struggles are gaining a wider scope, and democratic forces in various countries are also joining these struggles.

There should be no doubt that the spark that was started with the struggles of progressive and struggling Iranian students and youths abroad against the present despotic regime, and for the sake of freedom, democracy and social justice, will in the not too distant future, turn into a fire that will burn traitors to the revolution and the Iranian revolution like pieces of straw.

CSO: 4640/210



IRAN

IRANIAN CLANDESTINE ON MONTAZERI WARNING TO GUARDS

GF281217 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 27 Apr 84

[Text] In a meeting with the Guards Akhond Montazeri said all the movements, contacts, and meetings of the Guards Corps must be strictly on the bases of the Islamic and calculated tenets. Every insubordination and offense which is seen in the Guards Corps will surely be placed on the shoulders of Islam and the revolution. Akhond Montazeri said even if some excesses were committed at the beginning of the revolution, these should not be repeated now, 5 years after the revolution.

The statement of Akhond Montazeri is issued at a time when the Khomeyni regime has set up crushing organs like the Sarollah patrol units, Ansarollah patrol units, the Zeynab sisters and Komitehs, which have robbed the people of their peace of mind. With their identity cards in their hands, guards intrude into the homes of the people and plunder their property. Khomeyni guards detain anybody they like and then they obtain the arrest warrants from the shari'a or the public prosecutors to give a legal touch to their performance. 'Ali Tehrani, who has fled to Iraq, revealed the crimes of the guards and said that although he reported all the illegal actions of the guards to Khomeyni, no action has been taken to prevent such crimes.

CSO: 4640/209

## BRIEFS

MAJLIS DEPUTY KILLED--Tehran, 27 April, IRNA--Hojatoleslam Mahdi Shahabadi, [spelling as received] a Majlis representative from Tehran, was martyred by artillery shrapnel in a southern battlefield Thursday afternoon, when he was inspecting forefronts. The Hojatoleslam was among the Majlis deputies who had active presence in the battlefronts in the course of the Iraqi imposed war. His body was transferred to Tehran from Ahvaz, capital of Khuzestan Province, today. The political activities of the late Hojatoleslam, born in 1930, reached its peak in 1962 and 1963. He established contacts with Islamic groups following the policy of armed struggle against the former regime. He was first arrested on 25 June 1973 and spent 4 months in detention. Between 1973 and 1978 he was arrested five times and spent one and a half years in ex-shah's prisons all together. The last time in 1978 he was in prison for 8 months but was released with other political prisoners on the eve of the victory of the Islamic revolution, February 1979. After the revolution he continued his activities and in the first round of the Majlis elections 4 years ago, he was elected from Tehran. In the second round of the elections too, held 2 weeks ago, he gained 1,189,033 votes and was reelected from Tehran. [Text] [LD271109 Tehran IRNA in English 1015 GMT 27 Apr 84]

CSO: 4600/534

JUI LEADER SAYS MRD CAMPAIGN WILL CONTINUE

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 2

[Text] Larkana, April 26--Some elements had attempted to divert the MRD campaign and tried to give it the shape of a separation movement but their nefarious designs were frustrated as MRD struck to its original goal--the revival of democratic rule, said Maulana Fazlur Rehman, General Secretary of his faction of JUI on Wednesday night.

He told a Press conference that the MRD campaign for democracy would continue till the acceptance of its four major points.

He said that the MRD has rejected the August 12 programme of General Zia and will not participate in general elections if they were held on non-party basis.

The proposal of confederation is Mumtaz Bhutto's personal view and has been disowned by the defunct PPP high command, he said. He said that the people of Sind led in sacrifices during the MRD movement and, "we salute them." He said within a short span of time by sinking all differences, the two factions of JUI would become one.

He said that talks are underway with the political parties who wanted to join MRD and doors of MRD were open to all who agreed with its four points.

During his tour of Sind he visited the areas which were worst affected during the MRD campaign such as Lakhat, Moro, Khairpur, Nathan Shah, Mehar, Dadu and Allah Bakhsh Chandio.

He met the people whose houses were damaged and addressed the Moulana Ubaidullah Sindhi conference held at Chandka Medical College on Wednesday.

CSO: 4600/532

# PPP LEADER'S PLEA FOR RELEASE OF SIND DETAINEES

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 3

[Text]

LAHORE, April 26: Defunct PPP leader Rao Abdur Rashid on Thursday made a strong plea for the release of political detainees in Sind by a specific date, failing which "the Punjab politicians and political workers should start courting arrest from various places in Sind".

He was of the opinion that if by doing so they could not secure the release of their Sindhi brethren, they could at least "be with them in Sind jails and thus partially atone for our failings in the last movement".

Addressing a news conference Mr Rao Rashid, who was released recently after about nine months in detention, maintained that the liberty of the Sindhi detenus was a matter of concern for all those who believed in the Islamic and democratic ideals of freedom and, therefore, all the political parties, irrespective of their objective and creed, should struggle for securing their release.

He said that the release of the opposition leaders from Sind was of great importance because in their absence the MRD could not deliberate on the issues that were likely to come up in the coming weeks. In this regard, he made a pointed reference to Mr Abdul Hameed Jatoi, Mr. Mumtaz Bhutto, Mr Palejo, Mr

Khaliquzzaman, Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan and Mr Fatehyab Ali Khan who, he said, were in the forefront of the movement and had made great sacrifices for the realisation of the movement's objectives.

Referring to the NWFP, he said the most glaring case there was of Air Marshal (retd) Asghar Khan who had been under detention for five long years. Similarly Maj-Gen (retd) Nasirullah Babar and Mr Aftab Sherpao had also been under house arrest.

He said that in Baluchistan also, many leaders like Mr. Khudai Nur, Mr Ali Ahmad Kurd, Mr. Amanullah Gichki and Mr. Khalid were in prison since June last. However, he added that Sind had been singled out for 'special treatment'.

He noted that in the Punjab as well, some leaders were still in prison. These included Mr Mukhtar Awan, labour leader Rozi Khan, Haji Rashid and Anwar Rashid Mian.

The PPP leader said there was already a feeling that the Punjab had not played its full role in the last struggle and that the Punjabis had a sense of participation even under military rule. This feeling in the smaller provinces, he noted, would have disastrous consequences for the Federation.

# SIND GOVERNOR HINTS AT FORMATION OF CABINET FOR PROVINCE

Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 26

[Text]

KARACHI, April 25: The Governor of Sind, Lt-Gen. Jehan Dad, has dropped a hint about the formation of Provincial Cabinet by the middle of next month.

Talking to newsmen at the civil airport after the departure of President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq to Islamabad, the Governor said he had just completed the tour of eight districts in Sind and would tour the remaining four districts on April 28 and 29 and on May 2 and 3.

Thereafter, he said, he will have meetings with representatives of cross-sections of the citizens of Karachi and then will have a clearer picture of the overall situation in Sind.

Gen. Jehan Dad told a correspondent that while forming the Sind Cabinet care would be taken to see that all divisions were duly represented.

Giving impressions of his tour of the interior the Governor said the law and order situation had greatly improved through co-ordinated and sustained efforts.

Referring to the latest encounter with a gang of dacoits near Mirpur Khas, he said it was a "good sign"

that the police were now in a position to pursue the dacoits effectively.

Replying to other questions, Gen. Jehan Dad said the Sind Police was being equipped with sophisticated weapons, their training was being looked into and steps were being taken to make them more mobile and self-reliant.

Asked whether the Government knew about the "big guns" shielding these elements, the Governor replied in the affirmative. He, however, declined to name them in the public interest, but said "they (the shielders) know that we know them".

Asked about the student agitation, Gen. Jehan Dad said the ban imposed on the student unions would not be lifted as it was in the interest of student community and the decision was taken after duly consulting the parents, teachers and others concerned.

The Governor hoped that the students would stop their agitation "in their own interest" and, instead, attend to their studies as well as constructive activities.

CSO: 4600/531

ORDINANCE BANNING USE OF MUSLIM NOMENCLATURE BY QADIANIS ISSUED

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, April 26--The President on Thursday promulgated an ordinance called Anti-Islamic Activities of the Qadiani Group, Lahori Group and Ahmadis (Prohibition and Punishment) Ordinance, 1984 to amend the law to prohibit the Qadiani group, Lahori group and Ahmadis from indulging in anti-Islamic activities.

A new section 298-B inserted in the Pakistan Penal Code provides a punishment of three years' imprisonment and fine for a person of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group who, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, refers to the successors of companions of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed 'Ameer-ul-Momineen' or 'Sahaaba,' or his wife an 'Ummul Momineen,' or the members of his family as 'Ahle Bait' or calls his place of worship as 'masjid.'

The section provides the same punishment for any such person who refers to the form of call to prayers followed by his faith as 'Azan' or recites azan as used by the Muslims.

The new Section 298-C inserted in the Pakistan Penal Code provides the same penalty for any such person who, directly or indirectly, poses himself as a Muslim, or refers to his faith as Islam, or preaches or propagates his faith, or invites others to accept his faith, or in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Muslims.

The Ordinance has also amended section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, so as to empower the provincial government to forfeit any newspaper, book or other document, printed in violation of the new provisions inserted in the Pakistan Penal Code.

The amendment made by the Ordinance in Section 24 of the West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963, will empower the provincial government to close down a press used for the printing or publication of any book or paper in contravention of the new provisions inserted in the Pakistan Penal Code, to annul the declaration of a newspaper which violates the [words illegible] provisions and to forfeit any [words illegible] paper containing any matter the printing or publication of which is prohibited by the said provisions.

The Ordinance comes into force at once.--APP

ORDINANCE ON QADIANIS SAID WELCOME

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 3

[Text]

LAHORE, April 26: The President's ordinance about Qadianis, promulgated on Thursday, has been welcomed by the Ulema of all schools of thought.

Allama Mehmood Ahmed Rizvi, a member of the Council of Islamic Ideology, Chairman of Markazi Ruet-i-Hilal Committee and President of Markazi Majlis-i-Aml, Ulema-i-Ahle Sunnat, said the ordinance was very timely and in conformity with the requirements of the Quran and Sunnah.

This step is really a deed of President Zia-ul-Haq which will be a source of guidance for the entire Muslim Ummah, he said.

He further said that this ordinance had refuted the propaganda of different circles which, for their political differences, had labelled President Zia a Qadiani.

Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, Secretary General, defunct JUP, welcomed the ordinance but said the recommendation of the Council of Islamic Ideology should have been implemented long ago.

He said with the promulgation of this ordinance, the Qadianis were left with two options: either to live like non-Muslims, or to give up their faith and come back to the fold of Islam.

Mian Tufail Muhammad, Amir, defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, while commenting on the ordinance said that the step was very welcome and was a long standing demand of the Muslims.

He said that ever since their (Qadianis) being declared a non-Muslim minority, the Muslims were demanding that use of Islamic terms by Mirza Sahib or his family members should be prohibited and they should be refrained from using the word 'mosque' for their places of worship and reciting the Azan of the Muslims.

Mian Tufail congratulated the President, Majlis-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat, and its action committee.

Syed Hamid Mian, Senior Vice-President, defunct JUI (Maulana Fazlur Rehman group) also welcomed the ordinance.



CALL TO ESTABLISH AGRO-RESEARCH BODY

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 2

[Text] Islamabad, April 26--Agricultural Ministers from China, Japan, Bangladesh and Burma are arriving on Friday to lead their respective countries at the Plenary Session of the 17th Regional Conference of Food and Agriculture Organisation (FA) for Asia and the Pacific, opening here on April 29.

Mr Xiang Shong Yang, Vice-Minister of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries of the People's Republic of China will lead his country at the regional conference.

Mr Yoshinobu Shimamura, parliamentary Vice-Minister will lead the Japanese delegation. The Bangladesh and Burmese delegations will be led by Mr A.Z.M. Obaidullah Khan and Mr U. Kyaw Htain respectively.

The Director General, Food and Agriculture Organisation, Dr Edouard Saouma will arrive here on Saturday.

The Federal Minister for Food, Agriculture and Cooperatives, Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua will receive the leaders of the delegations at Islamabad airport.

Meanwhile, Technical Committees of the 17th FAO Regional Conference on Thursday unanimously agreed to recommend that Pakistan and Thailand serve as representatives of the region in the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR).

The recommendation still has to be endorsed by the plenary ministerial session early next week and would extend the term of Pakistan by two years. Pakistan has already served on the CGIAR from 1980 to 1984. Thailand will serve a full term of four years.

The Technical Committee has also, unanimously, recommended formation of a Regional Agricultural Research Association under the auspices of the FAO. This network would link up national agricultural research institutes to facilitate monitoring of scientific information, exchange of experiences and strengthening of research capability.

The Committee urged that research on water management be given priority. It welcomed the report that an International Irrigation Institute is being established in Sri Lanka under the auspices of the CGIAR.

Research on livestock and fruits is generally neglected in the region, the Committee observed. It urged increased attention by CGIAR and other appropriate international bodies to these sectors.

A proposal to abolish the Regional Farm Management Commission was turned down by the Committee.

The Committee, instead, decided to recommend that the Commission continue to operate for the next two years. Its performance would then be reviewed by the 19th FAO Regional Conference.

Before closing its debate on training, the Technical Committee recalled that the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) stressed the need for women to play a more substantial role in development. For women to contribute effectively in the development process, they should receive training not only in agricultural production but also other income-raising activities such as food preservation, cottage industry, health and sanitation, basic nutrition, population planning, education, etc.

There is also need to launch imaginative programmes for male and female youth to play an important role in agriculture and rural development and thus restrain exodus to urban areas.--PPI

CSO: 4600/532

APPEAL FOR PROPER TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 15

[Text]

HYDERABAD, April 26: Eight political detainees presently lodged in Hyderabad Central Prison, in a joint signed statement, have appealed to the Amnesty International, the Human Rights Association and other civil liberty organisations to raise their voice against the "inhuman treatment of Shakeel Ahmad Pathan, President, defunct Qoumi Mahaz Azadi (QMA), Hyderabad who, despite a fracture in the left leg was shifted to the central jail from LMC Hospital sometime back.

The political detenus alleged that Mr. Shakeel was not being provided adequate medical treatment and his health was deteriorating day by day. The political prisoners have demanded that Mr. Shakeel be immediately shifted to LMC Hospital's Orthopaedic Ward for proper treatment.

They have also demanded proper medical treatment for all detenus. The signatories are: Noor Mohammad Thebo, Advocate, Hussain Shah Bukhari, Allah Bachayo Laghari, Nawaz Jatoi, Babu Ghulam Hussain Memon, Kamran Chaudhry, Moula Bux Mashori and Rashiduddin Tariq.

CSO: 4600/532

BRIEFS

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS CONDEMNED--Lahore, April 25--Chaudhary Anwar Aziz, former Federal Minister, Mr Afzal Sindhu, and Malik Abdul Qayyum, former Provincial Minister, have, in a joint statement issued here today, condemned the manner in which political prisoners are treated in jails. They said that the Jail Manual rules were violated more often than observed. Many political leaders were kept in solitary confinement and were fettered. They said there was no reason why Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan, former Punjab Minister should continue to remain under detention when ill health had necessitated his admission to a hospital. They also demanded the release of Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Mr Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, Mr Rasool Bux Paleejo, Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan and all other political leaders and workers. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 2]

SIND POLITICAL DETAINEES' RELEASE URGED--Hyderabad, April 25--Five local MRD leaders, namely Abdul Rehman Shaikh, Ilahi Bux Kaimkhani, Abdul Sattar Kazi, advocate, Zaheeruddin Ghumman, advocate and Khursheed Ahmed Shaikh advocate, in a joint press statement have demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners of Sind. They expressed deep concern over the government policy towards Sind province and said that policy of the present regime is "against the interest of the people of Sind" as well as all the exploited people of Pakistan. The political prisoners throughout Pakistan have nearly been freed but unfortunately the political prisoners belonging to Sind are still confined, and they were being pressurised by the authorities concerned for an "apology." In spite of wrongful means and illegal pressure upon them, they are determined to continue their struggle for restoration of democracy. The MRD leaders demanded that all the political prisoners should be freed without any discrimination and condition. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 2]

MAIRAJ MOVED TO KARACHI JAIL--Karachi, April 25--Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, President of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, was on Wednesday shifted from Khairpur Jail to Karachi Central Jail. He was brought by train from Khairpur. Mr Mairaj, along with Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, had courted arrest on Aug 15 last year from the Regal Chowk. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 8]

ARRESTED FOR AIDING DACOITS--Sukkur, April 25--Fifty big Zamindars of Sukkur Division have been arrested on charges of harbouring kidnappers and decoits. It may be recalled that the case of kidnappings, specially the children of wealthy citizen, by hardened criminals to extort ransom had tremendously increased recently in this region. The Governor Sind, Lt-Gen Jahan Dad Khan, during recent tour of Sukkur Division had held out a stern warning and declared that the harbourers of the kidnappers would not be spared at any cost. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 10]

SIND CRIME CONTROL DRIVE--Karachi, April 25--A crime control drive has been launched in the province in order to prevent the incidents of dacoity, robbery, highway holdups and kidnappings etc, says an official handout. As a result, 191 criminals have been arrested. Officials hope that this operation will effectively contribute towards the prevention of crimes in the province. Our Staff Reporter adds: Those arrested were sent to jails in various parts of Sind and will be under detention for three months under the maintenance of public order (MPO). Sources said 100 were rounded up from Karachi division and the rest, almost evenly, from Sukkur and Hyderabad divisions. Besides some influential persons who used to harbour hardened criminals, police also flushed out some known criminals who had gone underground or were in hiding. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 26 Apr 84 p 10]

PNP LEADERS RELEASED--Quetta, April 15--Malik Faiz mohammad Yousaf Zai, provincial President, PNP, and Maulvi Nasrullah, President PNP, District Pishin were released from the jail ward of the civil hospital here. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 6]

LEADER ON ISLAM, REFERENDUM--Multan, April 15--The Jamat Ulema-e-Pakistan will not hold any round table conference in the near future as its past experience in this respect had been too bitter but the result of talks with politicians on the one point formula of Shah Faridul Haq will be announced shortly. This was stated by Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, Secretary General of JUP, while talking to newsmen at Mazharul Aloom, Shujaabad. Explaining his party's one point formula, the Maulana said that it was for the holding of impartial, fair and foolproof general election as early as possible in accordance with the provisions of the 1973 Constitution. Replying to a question he said that the present Government was not sincere in the promulgation of an Islamic system in the country. Mere realisation of Zakat and Ushr and promulgation of some sections of Islamic laws was nothing more than propaganda to perpetuate their rule, he added. He said that there was no room for referendum in Islam. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 1]

BOOK FORFEITED--Peshawar--The NWFP Govt have forfeited all copies of the book entitled "The Majesty that was Islam," for containing objectionable material immediately.--PPI [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8]

PIRACHA AMBASSADOR TO NETHERLANDS--Islamabad, April 15--Riaz Piracha, Ambassador of Pakistan, has been appointed Pakistan's ambassador to the Netherlands. Mr Piracha is at present serving as Ambassador of Pakistan to India. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 84 p 8]

ULEMA TAKEN INTO CUSTODY--Rawalpindi, April 26--The President of defunct MRD, Punjab, S. Ameer H. Gilani today said over 50 noted Ulema from all over the Punjab had been taken into custody by the police in view of the "Khatm-i-Nabuwwat Conference," scheduled to begin here tomorrow. However, Maulana Ameer Gilani said despite various hindrances a fairly large number of Ulema succeeded in reaching here. He told newsmen that police misbehaved with Ulema and dragged out of Rawalpindi-bound vehicles all those in shalwar-kurta wearing thick beards assuming them to be Conference participants. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 27 Apr 84 p 22]

MRD: PARTIES SEEK MEMBERSHIP--Multan, April 8--Acting President of defunct Pakistan Democratic Party, Mohammad Arshad Chaudhry has said that another four political parties, Pakistan Socialist Party, Pakhtoon Khwa NAP, Awami Jamhoori Party and Azad, Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference, had applied for coalescence with MRD. He said the Central Working Committee of MRD would consider their inclusion in MRD in its next meeting to be held shortly. Talking to THE MUSLIM here he referred to the proposal for referendum and said that it was always held to resolve disputed issues. He suggested that the government should hold referendum to know the views of the people about martial law and the President himself. Arshad Chaudhry said that the component parties of MRD would participate in the proposed round table conference if Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan invited them. He said the doors of MRD were open to all political parties without any condition and without discrimination. He made it clear that both the process of elections and dictatorship could not run together. [By Abdul Sattar Qamar] [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Apr 84 p 8]

PRISONERS IN QUETTA JAILS--Quetta, April 8--There are approximately three thousand prisoners in eight District and two Central Jails of Baluchistan living in overcrowded premises. According to reliable sources one thousand prisoners have been convicted while the remaining two thousand are awaiting trials. Among the convicted and under trial prisoners are 20 women and 27 children who have been booked for committing murder, attempt to murder, theft, and abduction. Over 200 males convicted imprisonment on the charges of murder and attempt to murder and about 500 hundred cases are being tried on similar charges in different courts of law. About political prisoners, the sources said "their number is not more than 15, while those who were convicted in the MRD movement are not included in the list of political prisoners". However, their number is less than fifty, the sources added. Referring to the conditions of jails, these sources said "almost all the jails are overcrowded due to which prisoners are not being provided facilities according to the Jail Manual". The Central Jail Mach has a capacity of 575 prisoners while at the moment over 700 prisoners are lodged in the jail. In the meantime, three district jails in Lasbela, Khuzdar and Loralai are kacha jails having mud buildings which are not according to the jail specifications. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Apr 84 p 8]

ON MUSLIM LEAGUE HEAD--Attock, April 9--Ali Afzal Jadoon, a member of the central executive committee of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Pagara group), has ruled out any possibility of the re-election of Pir Sahib Pagara as PML chief in the league's meeting to be held in Karachi in Aug. 14. Talking to local newsmen here, Mr. Jadoon said that Pir Pagara has himself decided not to participate in the new elections. He said that sincere workers of the league will oppose any move which convert the party into "Shoora or convention" league, and added that despite the invitation and pleas made by Pir Pagara, President Ziaul Haq has no right to become President of the league. He said only those persons may contest league elections who have been league members for two years. He said if S.M. Zafar were unable to get a vote of confidence for re-election as Secretary General of the party, then Ahmed Saeed Kirmani or Amanullah Niazi will be candidates for the post. [Text]  
[Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 Apr 84 p 6]

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